FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ZHIVKOV PRESENTS AWARD TO USSR'S TIKHONOV

AU051932 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Sofia today. The meeting was attended by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

During the talk, which proceeded in an atmosphere of exceptional cordiality, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nikolay Tikhonov briefed each other on the work of their two parties in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU and the 12th BCP Congresses, which mapped out new stages in the further construction of communism and in the development of socialist society in the USSR and in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The two leaders expressed their unshakable resolve to constantly strengthen the unity and indestructible friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. In exchanging opinions on topical international issues, they stressed the exceptionally great importance of Leonid Brezhnev's statement at the USSR Supreme Soviet session and the appeal to parliaments and peoples adopted at the session, an appeal which will contribute to rallying peace-loving forces, and to liquidating the danger of a future war.

Later on, a meeting was held between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, in a festive ceremony held at the Boyana residence, presented the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee. The highest award of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is being conferred on Comrade Tikhonov for his contribution to the development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov presented the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Comrade Nikolay Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. This high award is conferred upon him for his great credit and his contribution to the intensification of economic cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, as well as on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Zhivkov Speaks at Ceremony

AU051952 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, at a ceremony held on 5 July, in Sofia, awarding the Dimitrov Order to Nikolay Tikhonov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and Nikolay Baybakov, USSR State Planning Committee chairman--read by announcer]

[Text] Dear Comrade Tikhonov, dear Comrade Baybakov, comrades, it is with great satisfaction that I fulfill the assignment of the BCP Central Committee and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to present the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Nikolay Tikhonov and Nikolay Baybakov.

There is something very meaningful about the fact that two of the most outstanding functionaries and leaders of the Soviet state and the CPSU are being awarded the Dimitrov Order, immediately following the days when the Bulgarian people celebrated the 99th anniversary of their great son, the unshakable Marxist-Leninist, the true patriot and true proletarian internationalist. Georgi Dimitrov was one of the most ardent fighters for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. He was its inspired creator. Today, this fraternal friendship and comprehensive drawing closer together is based on the solid foundations of mutual relations between our two countries and peoples, between Bulgarian and Soviet working people.

Georgi Dimitrov was one of the most courageous fighters against fascism and war, for peace and democracy. Today, when our planet is threatened by the danger of thermonuclear conflict, our peoples and countries are in the vanguard of progressive mankind struggling against the warmongering policy of international reaction, against the arms race, for peace and detente, for a peaceful present and happy future of the generations. Precisely because of this fact, we are particularly glad to award this medal bearing the portrait of Georgi Dimitrov to two of the most outstanding leading figures of the Soviet state, who have contributed to the cause of peace and cooperation. Your work and activities, Comrade Tikhonov, are well known to our people. You are a worthy communist and leader. You have been working and are still working indefatigably for [word indistinct]. We are particularly glad that your first visit to the People's Republic of Buglaria, in your function as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, coincides with this ceremony. In you we also greet one of the closest fellow-workers of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, who is the most remarkable peacemaker of our time as well as a great friend of our people.

You, Comrade Baybakov, are well known as an outstanding functionary of the Soviet state, as a great economist, as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. We are particularly grateful to you for your personal contribution to the preparation and implementation of the general scheme for specialization and production sharing between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, within the framework of material production up to 1990, a document which outlines the strategy of economically drawing closer together between our two counties.

Esteemed Comrade Tikhonov, esteemed Comrade Baybakov, you are the dear guests of the Bulgarian people in a year when we are celebrating a remarkable anniversary--the 1,300th jubilee of the Bulgarian state and the 90th anniversary of the establishment of our party as a revolutionary party of the Bulgarian workers class.

In our long and difficult history, our people have now achieved the highest stage in their development, and socialism is the name of this climax. Under the wise ideological and political leadership of the BCP, our people were victorious in the hard struggle against capitalism and fascism. They laid down solid foundations of a new society, they overcame backwardness and all difficulties, they rebuilt their motherland and reorganized it as a country with a modern industry, modern agriculture and high cultural achievements.

Today, socialist Bulgaria can serve as an example for the tremendous transforming and creative forces and opportunities of socialism. We are aware of the fact that we are still facing numerous difficulties which we will have to overcome. Nevertheless, we are permeated by the awareness and faith that our party's 12th congress has mapped out the main tasks and most reliable paths leading toward the building of mature socialism.

This is why the working people are soundly rallied around the BCP and its general April line. Our fraternal cooperation with the members of the fraternal socialist family and above all with Lenin's great country, is of exceptional importance. In this fraternal unity and with the support of the international communist and workers movement, with the support of progressive forces in the world, we see the guarantees of our progress.

Dear Comrade Tikhonov, dear Comrade Baybakov, please accept this high award as an expression of our sincere gratitude for everything you have done and are doing for the development and consolidation of the indestructible friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our two fraternal parties, peoples and countries for the cause of socialism and peace. With all my heart I wish you health, happiness and new successes in your highly responsible work, for the benefit of the Soviet people, for the further flourishing of the vitally important Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and for the triumph of peace! Congratulations!

Premier Tikhonov's Response

AU052004 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Speech by Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at a ceremony held on 5 July in Sofia, on the occasion of his decoration with the Georgi Dimitrov Order--read by announcer]

[Text] I highly appreciate this award and I express my great gratitude to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In today's moving event, I see above all a recognition of the contribution made by the CPSU to the intensification of truly fraternal relations between our parties, between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, in the great cause of strengthening the positions of socialism. The Bulgarian and Soviet communists are working together for this cause. To a great extent this work is directed and inspired by the useful and meaningful meetings held between Comrades Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov, which every time give new impetus to intensifying the comprehensive Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation. The unity and cohesion between our two parties and peoples are based on solid foundations. Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, the ardent revolutionary, the unshakable fighter against war and fascism for the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, the consistent internationalist, has earned tremendous credit in this cause. His name became a symbol of indomitable courage, of self-sacrifice and loyalty to the workers class and to the consolidation of fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples. Georgi Dimitrov considered the unity of the socialist community countries and of the entire communist movement, he considered the fraternal friendship of peoples, as a lasting guarantee for the victory of the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideals. In following Georgi Dimitrov's behests, the BCP achieved remarkable successes. Under its leadership working people in Bulgaria are now successfully accomplishing the creative tasks of a developed socialist society and are confidently marching toward communism.

I declare with full justification as follows: Georgi Dimitrov's cause lives on in the work and deeds of the BCP and Bulgarian state. Finally, I would like with all my heart to thank Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the kind words about me, and to assure you that I will continue in future to work unrelentingly for developing and strengthening Soviet-Bulgarian friendship. Soviet-Bulgarian relations are enjoying a remarkable present and face a brilliant future. We are convinced that side by side with the peoples of the other socialist countries, the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples will achieve new successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress, in the struggle for guaranteeing lasting peace. Once more I thank you with all my heart, comrades.

Comrades Nikolay Tikhonov and Nikolay Baybakov were cordially greeted by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, [name indistinct], Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, and Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador in Sofia, as well as by members of the Soviet Embassy. A short while later, the BCP Central Committee Politburo gave an official dinner in honor of Nikolay Tikhonov.

AGREEMENT, PROTOCOL ON SHIPPING SIGNED WITH USSR

AU041920 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)--An agreement on reciprocal delivery of ships and ship equipment for the 1981-1985 period was signed by Bulgaria and the USSR here today. The document fixes the volumes of deliveries of ships and ship equipment.

A protocol was also signed to extend by five years the agreement still in force between Bulgaria and the USSR on cooperation, joint production and delivery of motor cars and completing units and details for motor cars. Bulgaria is to deliver to the Soviet Union units and details, and will import motor cars.

The documents were signed by Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign trade, and Mr Nikolay Komarov, first deputy minister of foreign trade of the USSR.

REPORT ON SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH USSR

AU041422 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia 3 Jul (BTA)--In the 1976-1980 period, 80 ministries and departments and over 350 research institutes, development centres and designing organizations have taken part in the direct bilateral cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. 540 joint developments have been transferred industrially in various spheres of the national economies of the two countries in the result of which the working and technical parameters of many machines and installations have been improved, a lot of raw and other materials and energy resources have been saved and labor productivity has been increased.

In the same period 2520 Soviet specialists have helped the Bulgarian organizations in tackling important techno-scientific problems. About 9800 Bulgarians have visited research and production organizations in the USSR to study the leading know-how of the Soviet country. Bulgaria has received from the Soviet Union 843 sets of techno-scientific documentation and has sent herself to the Soviet Union 150 such documentation sets.

These data were reported today at the 2nd joint sitting of the State Committee for Science and Technological Progress of Bulgaria and the State Committee for Science and Technology of the USSR, headed by the chairmen of the two committees, Mr Nacho Papazov and academician Guriy Marchik, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union. Present at the sitting were Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politboro of the Central Committee of the BCP and first deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP.

The leaderships of the two committes drew a balance of the techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the past five-year period and outlined the major trends of its development in the 1971-1985 period.

In the current five-year period Bulgaro-Soviet contacts in the techno-scientific sphere will be fully subjected to the general scheme for specialization and industrial joint production in the material sphere between the two countries.

The suggested cooperation plan features 320 problems in the key industrial and agricultural branches, 280 of which will be developed on the branch and interbranch basis. In the result of joint efforts it is expected that by 1985, 80 new and improved machines and apparatuses and 78 new technologies will have been evolved.

At today's sitting nine targets of complex programmes have been improved, in whose implementation the two countries' academies of sciences will take active part. They include programmes for development of laser equipment and laser technologies, technologies on robotics (?industrial) metallurgy, automation of the production processes, and space probing of the two countries' territories.

'CORRECT,' 'TIMELY' ACTION URGED IN POLAND

AU032207 Sofia BTA in English 1325 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Ivan Petrov article in RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "For Real Offensive Against Counterrevolution"]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)--"If no turn is ensured in the trail of events in Poland, she will soon inevitably turn out facing a still harder situation", is emphasized in a large signed article in RABOTNICHESKO DELO headlined "Real Offensive Against the Anti-Socialist Forces and Acts Is Needed".

But in order to have a change, what is needed is not only correct decisions but also correct and timely action. This is now the crucial thing, writes the author Ivan Petrov.

Recently, especially after the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the anti-socialist forces have not only abandoned their activity but are trying still more skillfully to conceal its counterrevolutionary targets and nature, the author says. He notes their speculations with the serious errors, weaknesses and misinterpretations admitted by the previous party and state leadership, their extraordinary efforts to "convince" the public opinion that not theirs, but the activity of the party as a whole has an anti-popular and counterrevolutionary nature.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO appeals: "It is time to put an end to all that. It is the duty of the party and the communists to clearly indicate and broadly clarify, from class, Marxist-Leninist stands, the question of the revolution and counterrevolution in Poland today".

Recalling the understanding of the Marxist-Leninists of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces and acts, the author elaborates on the counterrevolution in Poland. It is "everything aimed against the socialist social system, against the social structures belonging to it, against the socialist legality and order, against the material and moral foundations, values and virtues, typical of the socialist society". Mr Ivan Petrov stresses that counterrevolutionary forces and acts in the Polish People's Republic are those aiming, first of all, against the party of the Polish communists.

Counterrevolutionary forces and acts are also those which aim at vilifying and removing cadres--communists, non-party persons, etc.--whose only "blame" is that they are devoted communists, patriots and internationalists. Counterrevolutionary are also the forces and acts "which strive to break the moral and political unity of the Polish people, their ideological and political demoralization", as well as the forces who, "overtly or in disguise, are fighting against Poland's friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union, against her adherence to the socialist community countries--her natural and loyal allies", RABOTNICHESKO DELO reads.

The author dwells on the problem of socialist renewal in Poland. "The big question is what content is implied in this concept", because "under the slogan of renewal today in Poland there act heterogenous social and political forces." Says Ivan Petrov: "The socialist renewal can be a line of way out of the crisis and can be the right slogan only if a clear [words indistinct]. Socialist renewal is absurd if it disguises bourgeois and social-reformist principles and views, if it leads to deviation of the party and country from socialism, if it takes it away from the world socialist community."

Mr Ivan Petrov emphasizes: "We account for the need for constructive dialogue, resulting from the specific situation, even sometimes a need for compromise, if they do not [word indistinct] the vital interests of the workers, of socialism. There are however, limits, retreat from which is equal to perdition".

The newsanalyst draws the attention to the fact that the events in Poland cannot be viewed isolated from [word indistinct] struggle. "The attacks on socialism in Poland are attacks on the entire socialist community, against peace and security in Europe and in the world. They are the next in a series of purposeful attempts by the class enemy at changing the total balance of powers to the detriment of peace and socialism".

The author produces facts of the "wide and real interference of the imperialist forces" in the domestic affairs of Poland and the remaining countries of the socialist community. The facts lead to the conclusion: "The great threat for the freedom and independence of socialist Poland does not and cannot come from the USSR and the socialist countries", but "from imperialism, from the internal and external [words indistinct].

The author emphasizes the necessity for "real offensive against the anti-socialist forces and acts" in Poland--"offensive in deed, well-organized, consistent and crucial, on all fronts and in all spheres". "Without it, it is not possible to get over the crisis, to keep the People's Republic of Poland as a sound link of the socialist community", newsanalyst Ivan Petrov stresses in RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

DAILY ATTACKS 'ANTISOCIALISM' IN POLAND

AU021330 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 2 Jul 81

[From the press review for 1 Jul papers]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)--In a dispatch headlined "Tactics of Antisocialism" Mr Lyubomir Koralov, journalist of OTECHESTVEN FRONT, dwells on two questions--the critical shortage of foodstuffs in Poland used by the extremist elements for rude attacks on the socialist system, and the results of the party conferences in the voivodships of that country. The journalist notes with concern that only 20 per cent of the former members of the central party organs have been elected delegates to the forthcoming 9th extra congress of the Polish United Worker's Party. The papers reprint the TASS news item on the end of the 21st session of the standing Soviet-Polish sub-commission for techno-scientific cooperation in Moscow and a summarized version of an IZVESTIYA article on raising the prestige of the Polish branch trade unions.

DAILIES ON CHINESE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

AU031622 Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)--Today's dailies NATODNA ARMIYA and OTECHESTVEN FRONT comment on the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and define its decisions as a "temporary compromise".

In NARODNA ARMIYA newsanalyst Georgi (Strouve) emphasizes: "The strong Deng Xiaoping positions have been reaffirmed, who laid down completely on the economic cooperation with the Western states and the U.S.A.". According to the newsanalyst, the fact that the expected absolute reassessment of Mao's heritage has not been made shows the presence of rather powerful forces of resistance against Xiaoping's line, with which he is not able to manage and is therefore looking for compromise solutions. The author thinks that a temporary compromise has been arrived at during the plenum between the groupings at enmity with each other for the power, but uncertainty in that country remains a reality.

In OTECHESTVEN FRONT newsanalyst Maria Netsova writes: "The voluntarist, anti-scientific and arbitrary estimation of Mao's successors of the role and activity of 'the great helmsman' adds yet another sombre page to the latest Chinese history".

She points out that this estimation is indicative of the desire of the present ruling crew in Beijing to remain in the future closely related to Maoism, contrary to the vital interests of the Chinese people. Mrs Netsova says: "Torn by grave faction battles, Mao's successors do not want and cannot propose any alternative to Maoism. The Beijing ruling crust who betrayed the countries of real socialism, who grossly violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is back again and establishing the so-called "Chinacized socialism". She points out that the aim of the present Chinese leaders remains "turning China into a militarist superstate, and exploitation of the workers in the interest of the ruling military and bureaucratic group".

ZHIVKOV, TODOROV SEND GREETINGS TO REAGAN O'NEILL

AU041403 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a greetings telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the occasion of the country's national holiday--Independence Day. The telegram expresses wishes for the well-being of the U.S. people as well as confidence that the relations between Bulgaria and the United States will be further developed in the interest of the two peoples and in the interest of strengthening peace and (?security in the world).

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, has sent a telegram to Thomas O'Neill, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives on the same occasion.

DAILY ON U.S. DISCONTENT WITH FRENCH ELECTION

AU021533 OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 29 Jun 81 p 2

[Yordan Yordanov article: "From Smiles to Gross Pressure"--"Can a Frequently Repeated Lie Become Truth?"]

[Text] Elections have been held more than once in postwar France. There have also been extraordinary elections. However, there have hardly been any elections causing such pronounced interest in West Europe and across the ocean as the present presidential and National Assembly elections held in France.

The bourgeois press by no means tried to conceal the actual reason for this "increased interest" in events occurring in France.

The Western newspapers wrote that there is a real opportunity for the French leftwing force to prevail and seize power, and this was written as early as 2 months ago. However, this represents a "threat" against our common interests, the dailies stated....

Such prognoses caused great concern in Washington, but the concern developed into real alarms when, as a result of the elections, the leftwing forces won a majority in parliament. This was not all. The French Republic was supposed to be governed by a coalition government including (can you imagine!) the participation of four communists....

While the main American dailies already directed their attacks against the French leftwing forces, Vice President George Bush personally flew over the Atlantic in order to be briefed, as soon as possible, on French diplomacy as regards the most crucial international problems. However, even before the vice president's meetings at the Elysee Palace, Washington issued the warning that it does not "approve" of the appointment of communists to the new French Government.

Now, the high-ranking guest was a little more outspoken--he declared that the communist ministers are a cause of "great concern" for the allies.

The influential daily the New York TIMES overtly expressed its misgivings that "the French syndrome" may develop into even more dangerous forms in other countries, such as for example in Portugal and Italy.

As a matter of fact, among many other statements in the U.S. press we can read, as follows, between the lines: "15 years ago France left the NATO joint military command. Is it possible that others might follow this example?"

This is perhaps the reason why the U.S. State Department published a declaration expressing "surprise" and "dissatisfaction" at the coalition government in France.

As we could have foreseen, the French public evaluated this action as gross pressure and inadmissible interference in this country's domestic affairs. However, can we assert that such manners are "isolated cases" in American diplomacy? On the contrary. It is sufficient to recall that when diplomatic smiles do not prove effective for Washington, it is the turn of threats and diversions. In El Salvador, for example, the Pentagon advisers are heading military actions against the national liberation front "Farabundo Marti"; military provocations against Nicaragua are being overtly inspired by Washington. While friendly advances are made to the Pretoria regime, where a minority of terror and violence is trying to perpetrate racial discrimination and apartheid, emissaries of the State Department are constantly travelling back and forth in the Middle East with the only task of achieving "peace the American way" to the detriment of the Arab peoples' interests and to the advantage of Tel Aviv and Washington.

As a matter of fact, there is a parallel between the Pentagon's attempt at a landing in the Iranian salt desert, when operation "Blue Light" failed, and the criminal attack of Israel against the Iraqi nuclear center near Baghdad. Both cases reveal too many similarities and common traits in order to be dismissed as mere coincidences.

What, indeed, should we say about the actions of the NATO partners directed against fraternal socialist Poland?

Revelations recently made by former NATO and Bundestag employees unmasked the truth that in the last 10 years the NATO bloc has actively played the "Polish card." The goal was to place Poland in economic dependency upon the West, and thus to exert political pressure on the country. As early as in 1972 an important role was assigned to a plan called (Hilex) envisaging Western loans that should make the Polish economy dependent on the Western powers.

The KOS-KOR antisocialist organization in Poland was also created at the initiative of Western intelligence services. Throughout last year, however, NATO organized regular exercises of its staffs on conducting combat operations and seizing Polish territories....

Nevertheless, facts are one thing and propaganda is something quite different. Since the saying "the end justifies the means" is very well known in the West, why should Western propaganda not try to achieve two goals by one method and--since socialist Poland is actually threatened by a danger--why should the Washington and NATO propaganda machine not make use of this method and noisily propagate that this danger is coming ...from the East?

As someone said once upon a time--when you repeat a lie a hundred times it may become the truth. Why should the Western manipulators of public opinion not try to avail themselves of this opportunity?

ORGANIZATIONS TALK WITH PDRY OFFICIALS IN SOFIA

AU031530 Sofia BTA in English 1436 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)--A delegation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, led by Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP, and a visiting delegation of the organization of the Committees for People's Defence in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, led by the chairman of the national leadership, Mr Sulayman Nasir Muhammad, had talks in the Bulgarian capital.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski made the guest familiar with the history, development and work of the Fatherland Front organization--the biggest mass organization in Bulgaria. Mr Sulayman Nasir Muhammad thanked for the opportunity to become familiar with the know-how of the Fatherland Front, the successes of the Bulgarian state, which, he pointed out, was widely marked in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Satisfaction was expressed with the development of the contacts and cooperation between the two organizations and possibilities were discussed for the expansion and deepening of these contacts.

ATANASOV RECEIVES PDRY COUNTERPART 2 JULY

AU021644 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)--Mr Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, and deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control, received a delegation of the Supreme Committee for People's Council of Yemen, which arrived here. The delegation was made familiar with the decisions of the 12th party congress, with the successes in socialist buildup in Bulgaria and with the tasks of the control bodies resulting from the congress decisions.

There was also a meeting of the chairmanship of the Committee for State and People's Control with the delegation, at which the experience of the Bulgarian control authorities was discussed.

The delegation is headed by Mr (Ahmad Muha'd Husayn), member of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and chairman of the Supreme Committee for People's Control.

ZHIVKOV SENDS GREETINGS TO GDR'S HONECKER

AU022120 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram of greetings to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general, on the occasion of his reelection as chairman of the GDR State Council. I am deeply convinced, the telegram says, that the traditional relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties and countries will continue to develop and deepen on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, in staunch alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and for the prosperity of the Bulgarian and the GDR people, as well as in the interest of socialism and world peace.

ZHIVKOV, LILOV ATTEND VARNA PARTY PLENUM

AU031626 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] A plenum of the Varna Okrug party committee has been held in Varna. The plenum, which was also attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Alexandur Lilov, discussed certain organizational and cadre problems. The plenum relieved Todor Stoychev of his post as first secretary and member of the Varna Okrug party bureau because he is being transferred to another responsible job. Dimitur Popov, BCP Central Committee candidate member and chairman of the Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, was elected Varna Okrug party committee first secretary. The plenum also elected Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia Dimitrov's region party committee, second secretary of the Varna Okrug party committee, responsible for organizational and cadre work. The plenum also decided to appoint Strakhil Khristov, BCP Central Committee candidate member and chairman of the Okrug Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, chairman of Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee.

KATOWICE PARTY FORUM SESSION IN POLAND REPORTED

LD031442 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] The third session of the Katowice Party Forum has met in the presence of almost 300 members and candidate members of the PZPR from various industrial enterprises, offices and localities in the Katowice Voivodship. It was also attended by delegates from similar party aktivs from Poznan, Bielski Biala, Koszalin, Olsztyn, Warsaw, Wroclaw and Walbrzych. The members of the program council informed the participants at the forum about letters from communists in Szczecin, Kozienice and other places which fully support the principled position of the Katowice Party Forum which the Polish press does not publish.

Older and younger workers, technicians and scientists, in an extensive discussion, also criticized the inconsistent implementation of the conclusions of the 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee. Quoting many concrete examples, among others the latest issues of the bulletins of Walesa's trade unions at the Katowice foundries, [name indistinct] and a host of various leaflets, they illustrated the continued dissemination of antisocialist and anti-Soviet views and moods as well as the persisting danger of counterrevolution in Poland.

In this context, they highly praised the letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the PZPR Central Committee. The speech by a young worker from Walbrzych, Andrzej (Kepcapa), was received with great response when he pointed to the lack of unity in the party prior to its ninth congress, to endeavors to introduce into the party various bourgeois and especially religious views, and to the danger of the so-called horizontal structures. He also pointed to the strengthening of the private sector in the Polish national economy, and to the opening of the economy of the country to Western business headed by representatives of Polish origin.

The representatives of the third session of the Katowice Party Forum also drew attention to the inconsistent application of the decisions of the 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee in the mass media, and to the continued limitation of the influence of the working class in running the affairs of the state.

They said the main dangers were revisionism and opportunism, and in this context they stressed that only decisive deeds could restore the party's authority in society, and the confidence of the fraternal parties and countries in the PZPR and in the People's Republic of Poland.

They also came out in favor of consolidating the unity of the party and society on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. At the end of the session, the participants of the Katowice Party Forum adopted two resolutions: on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee, and on the participation of workers in the party bodies.

Sejm Session, More on Katowice

LD060002 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] A 2-day session of the Polish parliament, the Sejm, dealt particularly with economic problems but it also reshuffled the cabinet. What impact these measures will have on the process of socialist reconstruction in Poland remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that this process, guided by the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party, as underlined by the party's Katowice forum, must be characterized by socialist construction and the restoration of the working class's hegemonism in all walks of life. The participants of the Katowice forum also discussed the insufficient fulfilment of some conclusions of the 11th session of the party's Central Committee, something that has negative consequences at a time when a number of significant problems should have already been resolved.

Commentary on Congress

LD052145 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Stefan Simak commentary]

[Text] The significance of the Polish voivodship conferences and the conferences which took place in big enterprises and institutions lies, above all, in marking the conclusion to the most important stage of preparations for the coming Ninth PZPR Congress. We joined the world public in following the course of the conferences with increased interest. The conferences elected almost 2,000 delegates. These delegates will represent the party at the congress and will form the necessary program for its activity, including the program for the consolidation of the economic and social life marked by the crisis which has lasted over 10 months in Poland. These delegates' speeches, their personal opinions, as well as the views of the organizations which they represent also said a great deal about the attitudes which certainly will influence the course and results of the congress.

This was particularly why the opening of these voivodship conferences created serious anxiety among those parts of the Polish population which identify with socialism. Many voivodship conferences were marked by chaos and disorganization. It does not need to be stressed that in this way they set the bases for the activization of the bearers of revisionist and rightist tendencies, in some cases attacking the very basis of the Marxist-leninist character of the party.

At the same time, these displays accelerated the activization of all healthy forces among the PZPR members. Those forces were the communists from the Katowice and later from the Poznan forums who appealed to the party to strive against all displays of revisionism, opportunism and crying out for liquidation and to strive against the growing displays of antisocialism and anti-Sovietism.

The 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee positively assessed that it was above all the letter from the Soviet communists which pointed out that it is impossible to overcome the crisis--which is approaching the critical stage--without clear Marxist-Leninist evaluation and without a thorough class approach and a concrete program which would correctly direct the party and its aktiv.

Further proceedings of the voivodship conferences showed that a majority of the party members identified themselves with the contents of this letter. It was a source of strength and courage for them in forming a more decisive struggle for the Marxist-Leninist character of the party and a real socialist renewal which would rectify old errors and shortcomings. Pronouncements of this kind put the group of people spreading rightist and revisionist views on the defensive, and some people with these views, such as Andrzej Werblan and Stefan Bratkowski, were not elected deputies to the congress. However, it is still true that deputies were elected who have revealed themselves to be the disseminators of a bourgeois and church ideology and who have tried to make that ideology the party program. Disputes on whether the PZPR ought to remain the leading force in the society or limit itself only to ideological work were serious realities lowering the authority of the party. Such basic principles of the construction of a communist party as the principle of democratic centralism were doubted more than once.

Conferences in Torun, Koszalin and other places showed that Solidarity tried to manipulate candidates with the intention of interfering in the course of deliberations. As (?Andrzej Barczyk), head of the organizational department of the PZPR Central Committee, said in Warsaw recently, it cannot be excluded. Solidarity will try to manipulate the course of the congress too. One-fourth of the delegates belong to Walesa's trade unions and they could be misused to push through changes in the character of the party.

In the precongress discussion, many delegates paid more attention to dealing with the past than to seeking constructive ways out of the political and economic crisis. This was reflected among other ways by the fact that the cadre changes in voivodship party organs reached 92-95 percent. There is no doubt that in the past many officials showed themselves to be people of low character and expertise, but along with them, thousands of honest and competent officials left their duties.

This affects the continuity of the work of the party organs. When we look at the composition of the elected delegates, the first thing we notice is that only 20 percent are workers even though workers form a significant majority of the party's membership base.

The congress will take place in less than 2 weeks. The precongress meetings of the delegates that are taking place these days show that since the 11th session of the Central Committee, the healthy forces in the party are striving more decisively for party consolidation. The voices which recall that in ideological work there is no place for (?being misled) by (?one) ideological enemy are being given more time to be heard.

Anti-Soviet Elements

LD021754 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Station commentary: "Who Investigates Anti-Sovietism in Poland?"]

[Text] The hundreds of magazines, bulletins and leaflets now inundating Poland are often imbued with hostility towards and even hatred of the Soviet Union. A selection of quotations from these publications would provide an excellent illustration of political blindness, a result of the entrenched class hatred of socialism.

Under the influence of these very publications anti-Soviet elements are being activated in Poland and anti-Soviet feelings created artificially. The prime role in this fool's game is played by the so-called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense, KOR, and by the allegedly independent trade union Solidarity which is under the committee's influence. The authors of the anti-Soviet diatribes disregard the truth as well as tact and decency. The Soviet Union is allegedly responsible for all difficulties in Poland. This primitive lie is propped by fabricated and construed arguments which can never stand an objective scrutiny.

Also the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's letter addressed to Polish communists responded to anti-Soviet slanders circulated in Poland. It (?rectified) clearly the contention that the Soviet Union is robbing Poland. The letter recalls, among other things, that the Soviet Union by its deliveries of oil, gas, ores and cotton at prices, which are 1,502 times lower than world prices, is in fact supplying the main industrial branches in Poland.

Anti-Soviet propaganda as practiced by Solidarity is in fact an application of the theory of the erosion of socialism where anti-Sovietism plays a leading part. It's based on a scenario prepared by the already mentioned so-called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense which is eminence grise of anti-socialist forces in the country and a Trojan horse of U.S. and NATO's secret services in Poland. The aim of the so-called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense is a step-by-step liquidation of the socialist system in Poland and a return to a regime similar to that which existed in Poland up to 1939. That's why in the present stage they are sowing the seed of hatred of the Soviet Union. They desire to sever Poland from the socialist community and thus open up the roads to restoring of a bourgeois system.

It is a program of national tragedy which for the Polish people would mean to return five decades back in time, for Europe a change in the balance of forces and for the world an increased danger of war. It is a dangerous game whose course and (?gradation) is precisely characterized by sow the wind and reap whirlwind.

TRIAL OF POLISH ANTISOCIALIST DISSIDENTS CONTINUES

LD031318 Prague CTK in English 1151 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jul (CETEKA)--The trial of four leaders of the anti-socialist "Confederation for Independent Poland" continues before the voivodship (regional) court here. The prosecutor proposed that the four, released several weeks ago, be taken into custody again.

The four defendants, Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Snymetiew, Tadeusz Stanski and Tadeusz Jadziszak, continued their subversive activity after their release, and provocatively attended meetings of anti-socialist forces in several Polish cities.

Moczulski admitted yesterday that he began to organize a movement against socialism in Poland already in the 1960's when he prepared a detailed concept for the anti-socialist provocations in 1970. He said that from November 1973 to October 1975, he had in [words indistinct] a group of persons "ready for actions."

The confederation stepped up its activity at the end of the 1970's and especially last summer when it played a great role in organizing strikes in Gdansk, Szczecin and in Silesia, and inspired the forces which later formed the reactionary wing of "Solidarity."

Moczulski admitted in an interview for the West German television last September that he regards the "free trade union" as the first goal in the "struggle against the communist regime."

LENART MEETS SYRIAN BA'TH PARTY DELEGATION

LD030848 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] The delegation of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party of Syria, headed by 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant general secretary of the all-Arab leadership of the party, was received in Bratislava today by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Jozef Lenart briefed the delegation on the development of Slovakia during the time of the construction of the advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

'Abdallah al-Ahmar highly assessed the support and solidarity of the communists as well as of working people of Czechoslovakia with the struggle of the people of Syria for national rights and liberation.

TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS OFFICIAL VISIT

LD022234 Prague CTK in English 1131 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 2 Jul (CETEKA)--Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen ended today his five-day official visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for home. He was seen off by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek at whose invitation the visit was made.

Minister Turkmen said before departure that he was fully satisfied with the results of the visit, the first official visit by a Turkish foreign minister.

He noted that he was received by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, and said that with Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek he discussed in detail bilateral relations and international topics, particularly disarmament, security in Europe, and the Middle East situation. Both sides expressed the wish to consolidate bilateral relations and agreed that the talks helped clarify their stands on fundamental issues, the minister said.

Asked for his views of the prospects of detente and disarmament, he said this will depend on the readiness of states to respect one another and to cooperate in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference.

During his talks with Minister Chnoupek, the hope was expressed that the Madrid meeting of the Final Act signatories will produce positive results, including the decision to convene a conference on confidence-buiding measures and disarmament in Europe. Disarmament talks could be also speeded up by a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES PRESIDENT REAGAN ON 4 JULY

LD050418 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Ronald Reagan, president of the United States, on the occasion of the state holiday of his country, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

HUSAK SENDS CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO IRAN

LD022344 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, sent a telegram of condolence to the Presidential Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran in connection with the tragic death of the prominent political representatives of Iran who became victims of the recent assassination.

STROUGAL-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM CEMA SESSION

LD051108 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] The Czechoslovak delegation led by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, which attended the 35th CEMA session in the Bulgarian capital, returned this evening to Prague from Sofia. The delegation was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Ladislav Gerle and Karol Laco, deputy federal premiers; Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense; and other personalities.

HUSAK MEETS VISITING BULGARIAN OFFICIAL

LD031012 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today Milko Balev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. Also present at the reception was Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. In a cordial, fraternal discussion, they spoke about experiences of the political and organizational activity of the two fraternal parties, and about the deepening of mutual cooperation.

Balev Departure

LD050430 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Milko Balev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, who had been on a working visit in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, left for Sofia today. He was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other party officials.

INDRA REPLIES TO BREZHNEV CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE

LD051044 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0330 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, has thanked the highest Soviet representative, Leonid Brezhnev, for his best wishes on his reelection. He stressed that he would make every effort to ensure that the two federal assembly chambers, all the committees and each deputy take the most active part in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. Alois Indra wrote that the most significant component of this endeavor is the further consolidation of the alliance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, as well as the all-round promotion of bilateral fraternal cooperation.

DETENTE, DISARMAMENT DISCUSSED WITH FRG ENVOY

LD031732 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1511 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Jul (ADN)--GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer received in Berlin on Friday ambassador Dr Friedrich Ruth, chief of the section for disarmament in the FRG Foreign Ministry and representative of the federal government for disarmament and arms control, for a talk on current questions of military detente and disarmament.

At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs Ambassador Dr Ruth had conducted consultations on problems of disarmament with Ambassador Ernst Krabatsch, chief of the main department for basic questions and planning. During the talks, which has been preceded by similar consultations during past years at the FRG Foreign Ministry, questions of disarmament in the worldwide as well as the regional context were discussed.

On the part of the GDR a briefing was given on the basis of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, of its peace concept, and attention was drawn to the declared readiness of the states of the socialist community to conduct negotiations on all types of weapons on the basis of reciprocity and to conclude agreements for reducing them or banning them. This position is at the heart of the GDR's stand at the disarmament negotiations, its striving for constructive solutions of the burning problems of military detente and disarmament at a time when much is at stake for the peaceful lives of the peoples. At the same time serious concern was stressed regarding the NATO decisions for an intensified nuclear and conventional arms drive, which delay or block disarmament negotiations. Cooperation on the basis of equality and stable and goodneighborly relations require secure peace.

PRESS ATTACKS MAJDANEK TRIAL SENTENCES IN FRG

LD021052 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0113 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Jul (ADN)--"In view of the cynicism with which the victims of fascism are mocked and insulted in the FRG, the Duesseldorf sentences do not come as a surprise to anyone who has been following the Majdanek trial," writes NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in a commentary on Thursday. "The judgement is symptomatic of the nature of the state system and social conditions in the FRG where desk murderers like Globke were able to move up into high government offices, bloody judges like Filbinger achieve office and rank or draw high state pensions, Bundeswehr officers able to practice "Jew burning' within their circle of companions and neofascist gangs of thugs terrorize democrats."

The sentencing has unleashed a storm of indignation. FRG democratic forces regard it as a "deliberate provocation against all antifascists and at the same time an encouragement to FRG neofascism which is raising its head with increasing impudence."

"The sentences are part of the sad sequence of similar concentration camp trials," continues NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. "They fit into the political landscape of the federal republic, whose founding was prompted by revanchism and where influential forces even today want to bring territories of other states 'home into the reich'."

The paper goes on to say that the scandalous Duesseldorf sentences prove how little the fascist past has been overcome in the FRG. "In the lie about the 'threat from the East,' the disparagement of the Soviet Union, the anticommunist incitement, we can at the same time see again the same motives which led to the world being thrown in to misfortune once before. That is why the struggle against NATO's arms drive merges with the struggle against the fascist hydra whose heads have grown back in the FRG. The Buchenwald oath 'never again war, never again fascism,' sworn by German antifascists from all political camps, is of burning topicality."

It was "the whole social climate which made possible the sentences which were just as scandalous as they were consistent with FRG justice," stresses BERLINER ZEITUNG in a commentary the same day. BAUERN-ECHO puts forward the following aspect: "Leniency for Nazi criminals means at the same time fostering neo-Nazism in the FRG. Anyone who does not consistently punish genocide provides incentive for militarists and revanchists who are forging fresh plans for war. This is the danger of this wrong decision in Duesseldorf."

The Christian Democrat NEUE ZEIT describes the judgment as a "posthumous mocking of the victims": "This is an open insult to all antifascist forces. To the victims' relatives, to those few who survived, these scandalous sentences must seem an assault upon their memories, upon the worldwide will to effectively prevent once and for all a repetition of fascist injustice."

STATEMENT BY W. BERLIN'S GOVERNING MAYOR SCORED

LD031344 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1211 GMT 3 Jul 81

["Talking Big"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 3 Jul (ADN)--Herr von Weizsaecker, governing mayor of West Berlin, made it quite clear in his first official statement in the Schoeneberg town hall that political realism is not his strong point. If one takes his government statement, then "Berlin lies geographically, politically and spiritually in the middle of Germany."

One can only say that anyone who is so at odds with reality and who is prepared to build on sand, demonstrates a highly undeveloped sense of political facts.

Weizsaecker is at variance with several facts:

1. He has no authority to make any statements about Berlin, and if he has at all, then only for West Berlin;
2. He overlooks the fact that there are two sovereign German states--the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany;
3. West Berlin, from where Weizsaecker was speaking, lies--as a glance at the map shows--in the middle of the GDR.
4. Everyone knows it is specified as binding in the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, that West Berlin does not belong to the FRG and may not be governed by it.

In view of such weighty facts, one can only hope that the governing mayor of West Berlin will realize early enough that when one lives on an island one must not make an enemy of the sea.

The restoration of West Berlin's health, the need for which there is at the moment so much talk in West Berlin, is not to be achieved by do-or-die charges against the Quadripartite Agreement of Setpember 1971, which has after all--as even Herr Weizsaecker must concede--helped to ensure that West Berlin could live more peacefully.

It is difficult to imagine that the nationalistic sounds now issuing from the Schoeneberg town hall can help the West Berliners, who do not agree with much of what is happening there. Herr Weizsaecker can only be advised to accept things as they are. The Quadripartite Agreement could, in the future too, be a good basis for the development of West Berlin's relations with the GDR and also with the Federal Republic of Germany, and with other states. All the more so as the present West Berlin Senat owes its existence to leased and borrowed votes. Facts are indeed stubborn things, from which, as Herr von Weizsaecker himself stated, "no one can distance himself without harmful consequences for himself."

AXEN MEETS WITH PCF'S GREMETZ IN BERLIN 2 JULY

LD022352 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1939 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Jul (ADN)--Within the framework of constant exchanges of views between the SED and the French Communist Party [PCF] a meeting took place on Thursday between Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Maxime Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PCF. The meeting took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Maxime Gremetz reported about the political situation in France and on the PCF's activities.

Hermann Axen explained the results of the 10th SED Congress and the great movement of workers for the implementation of its resolutions.

The representatives of the two parties agreed the further fraternal cooperation between the SED and PCF.

HONECKER THANKS KULIKOV FOR WORK IN JOINT FORCES

LD060916 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Jul (ADN)--Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, has awarded the commander in chief of the joint forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold. The award was made at the suggestion of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers.

On the occasion of Kulikov's 60th birthday, Honecker conveyed to him in a telegram heartiest greetings and congratulations. The telegram states: "We also thank you for your selfless and successful work as commander in chief of the joint forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states which you are also undertaking in the interest of the people of the GDR."

The telegram goes on to state: "At the present time when the imperialist confrontation course and the NATO missiles policy and arms buildup threaten serious dangers for the peoples, your efforts for a high level of fighting power and combat readiness in our socialist defense coalition are of extraordinary importance. Your constant work for the secure military protection of the socialist states and the ceaseless consolidation of the brotherhood-in-arms of the allied armies and fleets represents an important contribution to the preservation of peace."

The people of the GDR and its National People's Army will continue to do everything to maintain defense preparedness at the required level. "We shall continue to consolidate the indestructible fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet people as well as the brotherhood-in-arms with the glorious Soviet Army and Navy."

HONECKER CABLES KRAIGHER, MOJSOV ON ANNIVERSARY

LD051050 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Erich Honecker, in a telegram of congratulations to Yugoslav representatives Sergej Kraigher and Lazar Mojsov marking the 40th anniversary of the uprising, has paid tribute to the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people's against fascism. It has ushered in a revolutionary change in the life of the country and at the same time had been a great contribution to the joint struggle of the USSR and the other forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council extended his wishes for fresh great successes for the continued construction of a socialist society.

KADAR ADDRESSES FACTORY MEETING IN LENINVAROS

LD031106 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Correspondent Gyula Bereczky report]

[Text] Janos Kadar spent today in Leninvaros. After visiting the factories of the Tisza chemical combine, he had discussions with secretaries of the party branch organizations, socialist brigade leaders and managers.

A district children's doctor and an engineer who were invited to the factory meeting, as well as a party member since 1945 and the party secretary of an agricultural cooperative gave opinions on our political and social situation, our economic realities and on the most topical questions of public life. Janos Kadar replied to what was said. We will now cite parts of his reply:

[Begin recording] I visited this area a very long time ago and I was in these parts when the struggle was still taking place for power, a long time ago. I would say that much of what is here today did not exist then. Nevertheless, I have not come to an unfamiliar place. I have already mentioned to the comrades over there that our central party organs, our government organs--we can go even further perhaps and mention the trade unions, the youth league and other social organizations as well--and the inhabitants of Leninvaros who belong to these organs, meet quite often and discuss the central questions of the large enterprises in this area. This, of course, is a matter of the volume, or in Hungarian, the order of magnitude of production work here, which is such that this is a national issue. Everything that is good here is good for the country and everything that is perhaps weaker or faulty can be felt throughout a wider area. This does not only apply to you. We believe that, according to every indicator so far, our nation has no cause to regret what it has invested here. It has been worthwhile. Indeed, a very beautiful, great and useful thing has been born and this is in your hands. [end recording]

Kadar went on to discuss the great significance for our international economic relations of the good work by the Tisza chemical combine:

[Begin recording] According to my information, as this combine also has international connections, the partners are also satisfied so far. Here Soviet and other participants are also involved, primarily the Soviet Union. The whole chemical industry which has developed here is a classic, wonderful embodiment of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation, and this is an excellent example of the socialist cooperation which helps this socialist-communist construction work today, which is being carried out in Hungary and the Soviet Union. If we unite and do it together, concretely, then both sides and both countries benefit, and the Soviet comrades say that this sort of cooperation and the rational and intelligent solution of questions even helps them in their own building program. I, as the representative of the Hungarian side, state that this collaboration helps our socialist cooperation very much indeed. [end recording]

Talking about general internal political questions, Janos Kadar took leave of his hosts as follows:

[Begin recording] We are working under difficult circumstances. Every penny counts. Every penny which can be used for investment and for living standards counts, and from this perspective the regime is now, let us say, stricter. But let us not understand by this that the Central Committee and the government will hold the reins tighter. This is not the case. Rather, everybody will have to do so, everybody will have to economize with everything of value: equipment, investment funds. You yourselves have said that you are working for the full utilization of capacity. Then you will understand that the program we announced at the 12th congress is a realistic program and one which points the way to the future and, if we work well, we can make it into a reality.

I think that what Comrade Biro said, that a long time ago, living through the many things that the party went through a good many decades ago--if I understood him correctly, he has been a party official for 34 years, thus he was in a position to see quite a few things, he had plenty to see and live through over this period, over 34 years--he said that he was always thinking about and hoping to see people using their brains in their work. I think we have achieved this to a certain extent. As far as work is concerned, this is a tremendous thing. It is a part of this that we do not place any one stratum, class or category above the others, as there is no point in such rankings. Previously, I spoke of the leading role of the working class in the socialist revolution; it is not prerogative that it has been predestined for this role, just as it is not the prerogative of the party that it is in the stated constitution that it is the vanguard of society, but it has an enormous historical mission and it has a great responsibility, which the working class and the party of the working class have honorably fulfilled.

I would like to finish with the following. I want to recall to my colleagues my experiences in this country, in Leninvaros, in the chemical works and I will also say that the people here behaved, even on the streets, as people who agree with the party's policy. Whether they say it or not, it seems to me that the people value what we have achieved very highly, shall we say the secure, stable social conditions, our unbroken line of development which we have been carrying out for many years, well, at one time it was higher, now it is a little lower, but nonetheless our development is unbroken. It is in this spirit that I would like to greet you once again and to thank you for this meeting and to greet all of those whom you represent. [end recording]

Return to Budapest

LD031114 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Leninvaros is the splendid result of the joint undertaking of the people living there and of the whole Hungarian people, and at the same time it is an example of socialist cooperation and international collaboration. Hungarian-Soviet cooperation facilitates the development of both countries, Janos Kadar said at the Tisza chemical combine, where he spoke at a workers' meeting.

Speaking about our internal political situation, the first secretary of the Central Committee said that our people appreciate the stable social conditions, the unbroken development and the improvement in living standards, which accompany the worries and the problems awaiting solution. We have had to work for everything to be cherished. Not everything can be achieved from one day to the next; we shall have to work hard for everything in the future as well.

Concerning the tasks connected with the resolutions of the party congress, Janos Kadar stressed that the congress set realistic but not inconsiderable tasks, placing economic work in the center. If we carry out the tasks determined at the congress and achieve the goals we have set, this will mean the restoration of our economic equilibrium, the preservation of our living standards and our achievements, and further improvements in living standards. This, however, requires willingness to act and the skills of millions, on whose determination we have been able to count for decades, Janos Kadar said in Leninvaros.

The first secretary of the Central Committee arrived back in Budapest this evening.

FRG OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON BILATERAL TIES, DETENTE

LD051140 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, today received Wolfgang Mischnick, deputy chairman of the West German Free Democratic Party and leader of the parliamentary delegation visiting our country. At the meeting, they exchanged views on the most important international issues, with particular emphasis on the situation concerning peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the development of relations between Hungary and the FRG.

A short while ago, our correspondent, Gabor Nemes, interviewed the West German politician.

[Begin recording] [Question] Mr Mischnick, you have met several leading Hungarian politicians and have just had a lengthy conversation with Janos Kadar. What sort of new insights will you take home as regards world politics and our bilateral relations?

[Answer] I have once again verified how deep the mutual interests are concerning the continuation of the policy of detente and the preservation of peace. It is also in our joint interest that negotiations leading to the implementation of the resolutions of the Helsinki conference on disarmament begin as soon as possible. We are aware that the road leading there is a difficult one. A great many discussions and negotiations will be needed. However, together with you, we shall utilize every possibility to ensure that these negotiations come about as soon as possible.

As regards our bilateral relations, the situation is very favorable in this respect. There are no particular problems. We can state with satisfaction that processes have occurred which are favorable for both peoples and we would like to preserve these in the future as well. I have formed an impression of the internal political situation in Hungary that the particular road taken by Hungary has led to an economic development which, even as an outsider, I evaluate very positively. We know that there is no question of a Hungarian model. Nonetheless, we can state that your path is a successful one. This is significant also from the perspective of our economic relations because it is easier for us to develop cooperation with the units of a planned economic system which are more flexible, which possess greater independence. This will continue to exert a positive influence on economic relations between our countries.

[Question] Mr Mischnick, let us return to the issues of world politics. Brandt has just returned home from Moscow, you are here in Budapest, and other West German politicians are also conducting talks in the East. Is this a new, purposeful West German action in the interest of the policy of detente?

[Answer] We are clear about the fact that the FRG, because of its position and alliance obligations, cannot play the role of intermediary between the great powers, nor do we wish to play this role. We are just as much a part of our system of alliance as Hungary is of its own system of alliance. At the same time, we regard it as our obligation to utilize our existing possibilities in the cause of direct talks and to explain our point of view and our partners' point of view; in other words, we want to avoid misunderstandings and want to ensure that our partners in these discussions can evaluate our ideas objectively. It is our intention that since the dialogue almost came to an end in the wake of the events in Afghanistan, we should direct events once more toward negotiations. I believe that in the course of this, it will be possible to convey the fact that the dual resolution by NATO is not merely directed at masking rearmament but rather to achieve disarmament negotiations. The rearmament part of the resolution would be merely an unfortunate consequence if the negotiations failed to produce results. We recognize the need of both sides for security but we cannot forego saying that those who feel themselves threatened by the Euromissiles should consider that we also feel threatened by the SS-20 missiles.

[Question] On this question, obviously, the Hungarian and the FRG positions differ. However, while I acknowledge that this is not easy, can I ask you to state a position concerning the Soviet proposals which Brandt took home from Moscow?

[Answer] I am not yet familiar with the details of these proposals. At any rate, we will examine them very thoroughly and we hope that we will not find ourselves confronted by new facts until a decision is reached on the preparation for negotiations. The FRG has always asked the Soviet Union not to deploy more missiles until the start of the negotiations. If the proposals contain this as well, this will be a great step forward. We are not going to set preconditions; we are looking for pragmatic solutions.

[Question] All in all, in your opinion, can detente still be saved?

[Answer] As far as I am concerned, detente has never been irrevocably lost. There is no acceptable alternative to the policy of detente as far as I am concerned. Thus, the central European countries--and both the FRG and Hungary are situated in central Europe--are always interested in advancing the process of detente, naturally on the basis of realistic ideas. As far as I am concerned, detente is not lost while the responsible forces in the world are willing to elucidate the facts in the course of discussions, and I must say that my discussions with First Secretary Kadar and my talks [illegible] the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have demonstrated that the paths along which we want to travel, while different, have much in common as regards fundamental matters. [end record]

LOSONCZI GREETS PRESIDENT REAGAN ON 4 JULY

LD050414 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 3 Jul (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, has greeted in a telegram President Ronald Reagan of the United States of America on the USA's national day.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADER VISITS BUDAPEST 2-3 JULY

LD041725 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 3 July (MTI)--Rodolfo Mechini, member of the national council of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and deputy head of the foreign affairs department at the CC paid a visit to Budapest on July 2-3 at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee.

The representative of the PCI was received by Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. Mechini had talks with Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP CC and head of the foreign affairs department at the CC, as well as with deputy head of department Gyula Horn. During the meeting, marked by a friendly and comradely atmosphere, the two sides informed each other on their respective party's activity. They exchanged views on current international issues, especially on problems in Europe, and surveyed the relations between the HSWP and the PCI.

CEMA DELEGATION RETURNS FROM SOFIA 4 JULY

LD052338 Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 July (MTI)--The Hungarian delegation headed by Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar, returned on Saturday from Sofia, where it attended the 35th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

CUBAN AMBASSADOR HOSTS RECEPTION FOR COUNTRYMAN

FL021257 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Cuban Ambassador to Hungary Jose Antonio Tabares del Real has hosted a cocktail party in honor of Armando Acosta, alternate member of the PCC Politburo and national cooordinator of Cuba's Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, who is paying an official visit to Budapest heading a delegation.

ACZEL VISITS KISPEST, MEETS WITH PARTY OFFICIALS

LD030644 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Gyorgy Aczel has visited the polyclinic at Kispest, afterwards going to the Ganz instrument works. The member of the party Politbuto and deputy premier had an exchange of views with economists, engineers and technicians in the factory. Later, Gyorgy Aczel briefed representatives of Kispest party organizations on foreign and domestic political issues.

REPORTAGE ON GROMYKO VISIT, ACTIVITIES 3-4 JULY

Kania, Gromyko Hold Talks

LD031854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has arrived in Poland today on a brief friendly visit.

At Warsaw airport he was greeted by representatives of the highest party and state authorities of our country.

Following his arrival a meeting took place between the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Andrey Gromyko. Matters of interest to both parties and countries were discussed.

Polish-Soviet relations provide an example of alliances based on common ideology and deriving from the development of history, which constitute the best guarantees of sovereignty and security. These alliances founded on tolerance and understanding of the other partner's motives at difficult moments give rise to hopes that the recovery of strength will be speedy. The Soviet Union has stated on many occasions that Poland itself should overcome all its difficulties and ensure for itself further socialist development.

Polish-Soviet relations have also been and are continuing to be an important element of the European political order because, despite its present difficulties, Poland occupies a particular place in the peaceful dialogue of nations. Moreover, by implementing a program of necessary social and economic reform, removing distortions and deformations, Poland seeks to consolidate its socialist system and is becoming a stronger link in the socialist community. The programmatic assumptions for the ninth party congress speak of the vital importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance. This reflects one of the fundamental principles of Polish foreign policy, tested in joint action for peace, detente and security. It is a principle which at this moment constitutes the condition of the lasting quality and success of the cause of socialist renewal in our country.

Gromyko Visits Cemetery

LD041005 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko is continuing his visit to Poland, which he is paying at the invitation of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Council of Ministers. In the morning, Minister Gromyko went to Victory Square in Warsaw, to the grave of the Unknown Soldier, where he laid a wreath in homage to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the national and social liberation of our country. The head of Soviet diplomacy signed the visitor's book and the ambassadors of both countries were present.

Andrey Gromyko then paid homage to the memory of Soviet Army soldiers who are buried at the Warsaw cemetery-mausoleum and placed a wreath at the foot of the Obelisk. Minister Gromyko signed the visitor's book at the cemetery-mausoleum.

Talks then began in the PZPR Central Committee between Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski and the head of Soviet diplomacy.

Gromyko, Officials Meet

LD041734 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] In the party Central Committee talks were held today between Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Andrey Gromyko, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. During the morning, Minister Andrey Gromyko placed a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and signed his name in the visitor's book.

During the afternoon Polish-Soviet talks began in the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the chairmanship of Ministers Jozef Czyrek and Andrey Gromyko. These talks were preceded by a short meeting between the two ministers. The talks concern the international situation and especially the joint action of Poland and the Soviet Union in the struggle for detente and security and for the realization of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and a halt to the arms race.

Minister Andrey Gromyko also paid homage to the memory of the soldiers of the Soviet Army who rest in the Warsaw Mausoleum and placed a wreath at the base of the obelisk.

Gromyko, PZPR Politburo Meet

LD042102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Talks were held today at the party Central Committee between Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, Council of Ministers chairman and Politburo member, on the one side and Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, on the other.

In the evening a meeting between Andrey Gromyko and members of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the PZPR took place. The meeting was attended by the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Poland, Boris Aristov.

Warsaw Reports on Talks

LD051112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] As far as Andrey Gromyko's visit is concerned, as we said in the headlines, we do not know very much about how the talks went. As yet, we do not know the communique's contents, but one can certainly say at the moment that this is one of the proofs of (?great) diplomatic activity.

[Another voice] Certainly. Let us take this last week. Andrey Gromyko took part in talks which Willy Brandt held with Leonid Brezhnev and Boris Ponomarev, and then he came to Warsaw straight from these talks with Brandt. The talks in Warsaw, as we know, took place at the highest level, with Stanislaw Kania and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. Talks were also held on Saturday afternoon in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek. On Sunday evening, Lord Carrington is coming to Moscow as part of an EEC initiative regarding a political conference on Afghanistan. So, 2 days ago, Leonid Brezhnev left for a holiday in the Crimea and Andrey Gromyko is carrying on the affairs of Soviet foreign policy and matters of key importance for the alliance, for European security and for the future of Polish-Soviet cooperation.

Gromyko Ends Visit

LD051026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] According to the most recent PAP report, the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko has ended. He flew from Warsaw this morning. Representatives of our highest state and party bodies bade him farewell at Okecie Airport.

Foreign Reaction to Visit

LD060912 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] The visit of Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Gromyko in Warsaw has aroused wide interest, both in the country and abroad. The world press, radio and television have said a lot about it. Here are reports from our correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent--presumably from Paris] A month after the letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the Polish party, Polish-Soviet relations are returning to normal. Ten days before the PZPR Extraordinary Congress, Stanislaw Kania and his collaborators have brought the situation within the party under control. Andrey Gromyko returns to Moscow reassured. This is the most succinct way of summarizing the first Paris radio and television commentaries on the visit to Warsaw by the chief of Soviet diplomacy. It is pointed out in Paris that economic problems will have a decisive significance in Poland at present. It is stressed here that the CEMA countries intend to come to Poland's help. At the same time, Jacques Delors, French minister of economy and finance, has asked France's 14 Western partners, who are Poland's creditors , to agree to postpone the repayment of Poland's debts. However, the French say it all depends on the Poles themselves.

[Second unidentified correspondent--presumably from Washington] The Warsaw talks by Andrey Gromyko filled the headlines in American papers for 2 days. The general characteristic of today's articles is the conviction of a positive exchange of views between the member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Stanislaw Kania, and other activists of the PZPR, on the shape of our transformations and also on the preparations to the ninth extraordinary congress. Rendering financial help to Poland to the value of more than $4 billion over one year, is a demonstration of the Soviet Union's concern. Polish debts are having an increasingly adverse effect on the activities of CEMA, as shown at the Sofia session of this organization which was full of understanding but also full of bitterness at Poland's failure to fulfill international agreements.

[Third unidentified correspondent--location unknown] In radio and television news bulletins, reports on Andrey Gromyko's talks in Warsaw begin the Sunday foreign news. This underlines the significance which is attached here to this visit. However, these reports are very short because, as everyone points out, there is a lack of detail. The meeting between Andrey Gromyko and Jozef Czyrek is reported more extensively. In the view of journalists, the two sides discussed the difficulties with which the policy of detente meets. A Warsaw television film was shown of the meeting with Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski. Generally speaking, the visit of the Soviet foreign affairs minister to Warsaw is treated as yet another proof of what great importance everything that is happening in Poland has for the USSR, and how important the coming congress is for the whole of the socialist community. [end recording]

Soviet Reportage

For Soviet media coverage of the visit to Warsaw of A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign affairs minister, and the TASS English text of the Soviet-Polish joint communique, see page F 1 of the 6 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

REPORTAGE ON SEJM SESSION IN WARSAW CONTINUES

Madej Speech

LD0211?0 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0904 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Speech by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej at 2 July Polish Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the house. At the previous Sejm session on 12 June of this year, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski announced the presentation by the government of draft amendments to the national socioeconomic plan and to the state budget for the current year. A program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the country's economy was also announced. These documents have been submitted to the House.

Today, in my maiden speech to the Sejm and with the authorization of the Council of Ministers, I would like to outline the main ideas of these documents. I am filled with concern about the future fate of the country and, like many Poles, I want a solution to the crisis to be achieved as soon as possible. This means that if one wants to conform to realities and professional obligations, no illusions should be created. Facts and economic laws are what count in the economy, laws which apply to everybody without exception.

The national socioeconomic plan still in force at present and the 1981 state budget were elaborated last fall, when the extent of the present crisis was not yet fully discernible. It was assumed at the time that the level of production from the national income in 1981 could approximate the level attained in the previous year. Today, there is not the slightest doubt that this is unattainable. The figures documenting this thesis are contained in the materials submitted to the citizen deputies.

Let me recall that in January this year, industrial production was 10 percent lower than in January 1980. In May the fall in industrial production already amounted to 18 percent, and we fear that this trend will be maintained during all the months of the second half of the year.

National income in 1981 will probably be about 15 percent lower than last year. The budgetary deficiency this year was originally forecast at 120 billion. Now this sum is estimated at Z217 billion.

The market is emptying. An improvement can take place only in vegetable (?plant) production. In this situation an amendment of the plan and budget appears to be indispensable because the lack of a feasible plan fitting reality will to a further degree cause additional perturbations in the economy. The form of this amendment is, however, open to discussion.

Two variants are to be considered. The first variant consists in the government submitting to the House new plan figures with a request for their adoption. This variant was justified when the situation was more stable. But it is rather doubtful at present. The second variant consists of this: that the government submits new figures of the plan but treats them as information only, because they are filled with too much uncertainty, and it therefore asks the Sejm to authorize it to steer economic activities on an ad hoc basis because it is unable to predict with sufficient accuracy the situation for the second half of 1981. It does not wish to involve the authority of the Sejm in this uncertain situation for a second time.

On the basis of these assumptions the government supports the second variant and therefore asks the House to adopt a resolution which would authorize and at the same time commit the government to introduce the necessary amendments to this year's plan in relation to the development of the economic situation. It is proposed that the same resolution should contain a commitment for the government to regularly inform the Sejm on the actions taken. I would like to say that, after getting this sort of authorization from the chamber, the government, in its economic activity, will take into account the hard facts of our reality and have as its goal the fundamental interests of the national existence. All the more important decisions taken in the second half of 1981 will be reported on periodically by the government to the Sejm.

Citizen Deputies! I come now to matters linked with the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the country's economy. This program has its roots in the diagnosis contained in the government report on the state of the economy, which you, Citizen Deputies, received several weeks ago. There is no justification, therefore, I think, to dwell on the problems of the current state of affairs. The entire effort has to be directed toward the future. The draft program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy submitted to the chamber, was compiled jointly by the Planning Commission and the economic ministries, with active participation by eminent representatives of the economic sciences who were invited to cooperate, as well as professional economists and journalists. Use was made of the entire output of deputies' discussions, particularly the critical comments and proposals of the Sejm Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, submitted as part of the previous draft which bore the working title: "Program of Stabilization Measures."

The program now under consideration is not in the nature of a plan: It is rather a set of government measures in the field of economic policy. Some of these measures will be implemented within the framework of annual plans; others require special decisions by the Council of Ministers, for example, the proposed reforms [words indistinct]. In compiling the program for overcoming the crisis, strong emphasis has been put on the ways and means of achieving the set goals. This has found expression in the unambiguous definition of who is to do what, and when, and how, so that sectional activities are complete.

The sequence of the measures (?has been envisaged): In the program there is a differentiation between issues for today, that is, those whose implementation is to begin in the second half of 1981; and issues for tomorrow, mainly falling in 1982; and also issues for the day after tomorrow, which will be tackled immediately but will be continued up to the end of the current 5-year period and even longer.

Esteemed Sejm! On the road to stabilizing the country's economy, the government indicates seven main directions of activity. First, an intensification of agricultural production, better management of agricultural produce in food production. Second, measures toward savings in the use of raw materials, mainly by way of profound reconstruction of industry, up to eliminating the most energy-intensive production and increasing the production of raw materials, particularly coal, which today is the starter of economic development. Third, the halting of inflation and the gradual restoration of market equilibrium and priority treatment of some items, particularly for children, personal hygiene products and medicines. Fourth, considerable budget economies. Fifth, ordering the situation on the investment front. Sixth, employment transfers. Seventh, measures to promote exports and restore equilibrium to the balance of payments.

The choice of these directions and the order of priority in which they are put is not so much a result of [words indistinct] as a result of ordinary, though attentive, observation of reality. This choice is dictated by life itself, by the most urgent and most elementary needs of our economy. Not all the directions of activity are equally clear. For some of them, mere paths of approach were traced; paths which must, in the course of concrete activity, be widened. We must return to the issue, because the situation is exceedingly complex. A discussion will undoubtedly evolve on all of these issues in Sejm commissions, and outside the Sejm. Today I would like to confine myself to problems which are particularly important and urgent.

An important premise of getting out of the crisis should be economic reform--a reform as a result of which one should expect a strengthening of the strategic functions of central planning and effective activity of enterprises based on the principles of self-financing and self-government. In accordance with this, the government prepared a basic package of new solutions as regards the system of management: a package which will, in our opinion, settle the implementation phase of the economic reform. I am drawing attention first and foremost to what has already been done or is in an advanced stage. This is, first, the initiated reorganization of the central state administration, aimed at curtailing the number of ministries, and a fundamental change in their function. Within these measures, there will also be a reorganization of the Planning Commission, to adapt to the new ideas emerging from the economic reform.

Secondly, the drafts, compiled and submitted to the Sejm, of the laws on the enterprise and on employee self-government create a basis for organization and activity on the basis of self-government and self-financing.

Sector solutions were compiled, like the new economic system for small-scale production and for state farms, which already come into force beginning 1 July of this year. At the same time, the government will aim at a rapid preparation of as many solutions as possible, which are envisaged for application in the immediate future.

Beginning 1 January next year, these next successive solutions will be introduced: A reform of supply prices should be binding from the beginning of next year; the application of new principles of annual planning, beginning with the preparation of the national socioeconomic plan for 1982, will come into force; a gradual reorganization of amalgamations, the setting up of economic associations and the creation of new functions of their activity. These issues will come in 1982.

With the aim of shaping, from the beginning of next year, a new organizational structure of the economy, the government obligates the newly-created ministries to enter into broad consultations with enterprise workforces and to prepare before this year is over, in the coming 3 months, concepts of structural changes guaranteeing a rational formation of the dimensions of enterprises, their mutual links and the principles of enterprise operation. These drafts have to be known early enough to be calmly, deliberately but consistently brought into force next year. We want the economic functions of individual cells to take an unambiguous shape as a result of the economic reform. Let the government do what its obligation is: Let it create the organizational, legal and economic conditions for the operation of enterprises. On the other hand, the results of the operation--that means increased production, better market supplies, improved profitability--let them be the enterprise's affair. Let them depend on the inventiveness and industriousness of workforces and on good management by enterprise directors.

Esteemed chamber! The issue of raw materials is of key significance for reviving the economy. Hence the government's plans in this field are the broadest scope of the undertakings presented by me in the program for getting out of the crisis. We want to concentrate the main directions of activity: first on increasing the production of domestic raw materials; second, on efficient management of those raw materials in our possession, to produce as much as possible from them; and third, on intensifying the effort towards an increase in the import of raw materials essential raw materials--but this assumes a parallel increase in exports. On 20 June this year, members of the Government Presidium and ministers visited 25 coal mines in the Katowice Voivodship. They acquainted themselves there with the work of miners underground and had meetings with workforce representatives, who informed them about the current problems of the mining industry. There was an out-of-town session of the Government Presidium in Katowice, whose main topic was an assessment of possibilities and conditions of coal extraction.

A direct analysis of the situation in individual mines showed that miners are working well. During 5 working days, in the majority of collieries the daily extraction is higher than in past years. On the other hand, where the previous level of extraction is not being achieved, this is most frequently caused by exploitation difficulties resulting from geological conditions. The main reason for the very serious drop in coal extraction on a nationwide scale is the considerable shortening of miners' and collieries' working hours, which was carried out last autumn.

The shortening of the miners' workweek is regarded by the government as inviolable. At the same time, however, it is essential to look for solutions which would enable the national economy to avoid a drastic drop in coal for domestic requirements and for export. Many countries have gone through a shortening in work hours. This most frequently went hand in hand with a great wave of technical and organizational innovations. Here we see the great reserves to back up getting out of the crisis in our country as well. In the proposals discussed with the miners, account is taken first and foremost of the possibilities of increasing extraction through better labor organization; through cutting out stoppages caused by a lack of spare parts and by other organizational causes.

Together with this, ways of increasing extraction on free Saturdays on a completely voluntary basis are being discussed with the miners. The government also passed on for consultation to mining workforces proposals for a system of miners' work i a 5-day cycle and of mines in a 6-day cycle. In this connection, an additional number of people will have to be channeled into work in the mining industry. All methods of increasing coal extraction, being worked out at present in agreement with the miners, will be as rapidly as possible consulted on with the workforces of other extraction industries and universalized where possible.

Together with an increase in obtaining raw materials, we absolutely must gear ourselves to saving them. Over a longer distance, this direction of activity is even more important. It is, to tell the truth, the only chance for further development of our economy. There is an enormous need for innovation and wide fields of action for the technical world.

There is a slogan in the program: The homeland in need. In order not to devalue such significant words, they must not be overexploited. It is fully justified to cite that slogan. It will bring the expected results, if it is taken up by men of action who will develop a broad program of effective action. May it please the House! I would like now to present the basic measures to bring back market equilibrium. This is, after the raw materials problem, the most important pillar of the program for overcoming the economic crisis. A natural consequence of measures to restore a growth trend in production will be the (?need) to increase the supplies of goods to the market. However, the current surplus in purchasing power of the population over the achievable supply of goods and services makes it impossible to get market equilibrium with the aid of an increase in production and goods supplies alone. For this reason the government is presenting an initial outline in the program of a variant reform of retail prices together with compensations. One of the variants envisages a one-time price rise for basic consumer goods, which could be introduced in the second half of 1981. The other variant envisages staggered increases, spaced out over several years. The quicker we carry out this operation, the quicker we will create premises for an improvement in the market and the elimination of the rationing system. The government is aware that a rise in retail prices cannot be received with approval; but the point is for it to be received with understanding.

We have found ourselves today in a situation in which such an increase, and the self-denial linked with it, are the lesser evil than a rapidly-advancing market disorganization. The final proposal on retail price rises and compensations will be worked out separately and will be consulted on separately with society. The government's intention is a far-reaching protection of those groups of the population which, because of social reasons, require special (?care).

The fourth direction of activities of special urgency is to strive to restore the payments equilibrium and to start export-oriented structural changes in the economy. Our indebtedness abroad is still growing. This is due to the fact that the revenue accruing from exports does not suffice to meet the cost of imports and payment of high interest on loans.

In relations with the capitalist countries--as the Citizen Deputies realize--we have signed a general agreement on the moratorium of the repayment of Poland's loan obligations, covered by government guarantees. We are also engaged in negotiations on this subject with private banks. These talks are protracted; all the same we expect that they will soon reach a successful conclusion.

However, the moratorium on repayments will not fully resolve the current difficulties. It will only alleviate the very tense payments situation for the next few years. Therefore the only way to improve imported supplies for the production of raw and finished materials is to manage thriftily and rationally the funds allocated for this purpose, and to augment them by increasing profitable exports. That is why the government will create all the conditions for making the issue of profitable exports the focal point of the attention of all enterprises with potential export possibilities. Practical work in this direction is already starting in the second half of the year.

Our main orientation in the entire foreign trade area concentrates on the strengthening of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the remaining CEMA countries and the entire socialist community.

This is a sacred principle of Polish economic policy which lies at the roots of the whole program.

May it please the House! The government regards the program submitted for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the country's economy as completely open to further concepts, social initiatives and observations. The Polish Government welcomes the numerous proposals from the Polonia [association for liaison with Poles abroad] centers and enterprises for the widening of economic contacts with Poland.

After the debate and the endorsement of the program precepts the government will make it the axis of its future activities and a guideline for actions undertaken by all economic links of the country. It is difficult to define today precisely when the crisis is going to be overcome, but there must be no evading this question. Thus, assuming a generally favorable configuration of external factors, it is possible to predict provisionally that to reach the highest level of agricultural production achieved before the crisis will require 2-3 years. As regards vegetable production this may be sooner.

The achievement of the precrisis level of industrial production will require some 3-4 years. The highest national revenue level before the crisis can be achieved in some 5 years. The first repayment of our country's debts will be possible at the earliest at the beginning of the next 5-year period. In all, overcoming the crisis and catching up on what was lost by it in basic sectors will therefore require some 3 years, and in the wider dimension it will last until the end of the current 5-year period. The first tangible effects of improvement ought to become apparent much earlier, for flour products this year and for industrial production presumably during 1982.

All these schedules could be shortened or lengthened. They could be accelerated first of all by the effect of a speedier increase of raw material extraction, a speedier progress in the intensification of the economy, and a favorable course of the economic reform. However, I would be dishonest if I were not to note that besides favorable factors promoting a solution to the crisis, there are also serious threats on the path to the implementation of this target. The greatest threat is found in a prolonged phase of debility and lack of ability to give impetus to social actions. Even the best program cannot yield much if it is not accompanied by constant work by millions of people. Without support for this program, it may end with a fiasco, like other initiatives of this kind known from the past.

We shall do all we can so that this does not happen, because this program is for our society, for the economic existence of the nation, an authentic opportunity. Unless we tackle it as from today, from now, nothing can block the present road toward catastrophe, to a collapse of our economy with all its consequences. I must say this, although it is a painful matter. I had to do it in order to conform to my conscience and to professional ethics. We must find out how to get out of the crisis. We must bridge the gap between word and action, which has been so difficult until now. This requires responsibility and no lesser strength than the overcoming of social tensions which we have experienced during the past months.
Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Jedynak on Self-Government

LD021355 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0931 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Speech by Polish Deputy Premier Andrzej Jedynak at the 2 July Sejm session on the government bills regarding the self-government of the workforce in a state enterprise--live]

[Text] Citizen-Speaker, may it please the House. We are currently at a decisive moment of economic transformations. One of the essential elements of this turn is the elaboration of the shape of the economic reform.

It is the aspiration of the government to initiate the premises of this reform as quickly as possible, as we see in it an important component of the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the socialist character of the development of Poland. The economic reform is and will remain an essential factor of the socialist renewal. By drawing inspiration from it, the reform should promote the positive processes that create assumptions and mechanisms to ensure work for people in all-round conditions of participation and the performance of a superior control over the entire management process at enterprises on a regional and national scale.

The implementation of the reform is only possible with the active support of society and its representative organizations. The basic goal of the economic reform is the creation and initiation of such principles and mechanisms of the economy's functioning that would ensure a high social effectiveness of management. This conditions the obtaining of indispensable means for the realization of the social policy which corresponds to the aspirations and needs of our society and which is commensurate to the attained level of the country's productive potential.

The realization of the goals of the economic reform requires changes in the planning system as the main instrument for shaping the socioeconomic development of the country, the creation of conditions for an effective activity of independent and self-governing enterprises, and the preparation and initiation of a system of economic instruments for the economic policy which would ensure the conformity of the activity of enterprises with the social interest.

The acceleration of the economic reform is at present a necessary condition for halting and turning back negative economic processes such as the constant reduction of effectiveness, the deepening imbalance of the market and the resulting constant worsening of the people's living conditions. The current economic decisions undertaken by the government in these circumstances can merely transitionally alleviate the consequences of the crisis. A significant and permanent improvement of the situation is only possible through changes in the system of the functioning of the national economy. Each delay in introducing these changes will deepen the crisis and reduce the chances of mastering the situation.

Being aware of the difficulties connected with the introduction of the reform, the government supports an urgent start of implementing actions. Every delay in the realization of these reform components--which will enable a further development of the desired direction--cannot serve its actualization. The will to carry out the economic reform has been endorsed in full during the discussion before the Ninth PZPR Congress. On the basis of these assumptions the government has submitted draft changes in the supreme and central links of the state administration. The adoption of these changes by the Sejm will allow the government to take another indispensable step toward the reform of the system of the economy's functioning.

The draft bills submitted to the Sejm on state enterprises and on the self-government of the workforces of a state enterprise are safeguarding this.

The current proposal of the drafts of these bills is synchronized with the general trend of changes. Together with the reconstruction of the structure and the change of the functioning of the central level, legal foundations will be created and conditions of an institutional and organizational character for the initiation of the reform. We know that the regulations contained in the draft bills, which I am presenting to the House on behalf of the government, cannot in themselves, despite their fundamental significance, constitute a full foundation for the functioning of enterprises on the basis of the new principles. This is why work has begun on the legal regulating of the principles of socioeconomic planning, the financing of the enterprise activities, the creating and exploiting of funds, the taxing of a goods turnover and other spheres. We are aware that we are facing a difficult period of attaining the basic premises of stabilization and socioeconomic balance.

The government fully shares the opinion of the Commission for Economic Reform that the effective attainment of such a state is conditioned in the functioning of the self-government of workforces and the functioning of enterprises on the basis of the new principles.

The explicit definition of desired solutions will facilitate the overcoming of difficulties during the transitional period. Prerogatives for the Council of Ministers have been envisaged for the issuance of decrees which would ensure a successive and effective transition from the commanding and controlling methods of steering the activities of enterprises to the solutions planned in the economic reform, in order to create possibilities for overcoming these difficulties.

The speed of these changes must correspond to existing conditions and contribute to the development of self-government and independence of enterprises, which form the basis of all systematic changes. The Council of Ministers has recognized that the introduction--effective 1 October--of the draft bill submitted to the House will create fuller possibilities for the preparation of the implementation of socioeconomic tasks in 1982. That is why the Council of Ministers appeals to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic for the examination of the draft bills submitted to the discussion by the House.

A premise of self-government and independence of a state enterprise must be accompanied by a corresponding legal regulation. This need is met by the draft bills submitted to the House on self-government of the workforce and on the state enterprises. The theses concerning the bills, and subsequently their drafts, have been discussed and submitted to the Council of Ministers by the 10th team of the Commission for Economic Reform. The team acted in accordance with the working principles accepted by the entire commission, which means linking theoretical concepts with the experiences of eminent practitioners and submitting the results of their work to broad social consultation. It must be recalled that the premises of the draft bills have been published in the press--the columns of which contained many speeches. During these consultations the 10th team received several hundred letters containing a number of unusually valuable and innovative suggestions. The premises of the draft bills were the subject of discussions among scientists and social and economic activists. Many suggestions were made by workers' teams and trade union links.

It is obvious that in a broad discussion on key problems of the economic reform there cannot be a complete unanimity. It is therefore to the even greater credit of the 10th team that its members not only examined all the suggestions received, but also made efforts not to lose anything from the results of the consultation.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers and Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski I wish to convey cordial thanks to the members of the 10th team for their efforts and also to all who contributed to the creation of the draft bills discussed today. I address special words of thanks to Prof Dr Uidwik Bar, the chairman of the 10th team, whose work, commitment and innovative thinking have given such positive results.

The draft bills were discussed during a plenary session of the Commission for Economic Reform, whose participants also raised a number of important suggestions. Another stage of legislative work was the interministerial coordination and the adoption of a resolution by the Council of Ministers which made it possible to implement the government's legislative initiative. While briefing the house on the course of work on the draft bills on self-government of workforces and on state enterprises, I wish to emphasize the weight attached by the government to the broad utilization of creative scientific thought, practical experience and social consultations.

The teams which elaborated the draft bills were faced with the question: Would it not be better to contain the regulations in a single legal enactment? They were aware that there was a close correlation between the organization and functioning of an enterprise and the activity of the workforce self-government. This link does not obliterate the basic material and formal differences which occur. The workforce self-government constitutes an essential link of social self-government; it is a form of implementation of the constitutional principles of socialist democracy. Its activity has been regulated comprehensibly and in a manner precluding the need to issue executive orders. Such a solution is supported by the essence of the workforce self-government and the social standing of its activity. On the other hand the definition of the bases of the functioning of state enterprises must take into consideration the economic, social and organizational exigencies of the national economy.

The enterprise must be given full possibilities for participation in socialized turnover, for the achievement of goals for which it has been appointed and it must have a guaranteed efficient structure. In view of the differences among state enterprises, a number of detailed problems should be regulated in the executive regulations of the enactment. These considerations have prompted the submission of two connected but separate legal enactments.

Citizen-Deputies, the draft bill on the workforce self-government of a state enterprise constitutes the concretization and development of the structural principle contained in Article 13 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic in accordance with which the workforces participate in the management of a state enterprise. This participation, which is at the same time the right and the duty of the workforce, belongs to it as a defined collective and not to individual organizations acting in an enterprise. The draft bill envisages that the workforce will participate in management directly and indirectly through the elected enterprise council, which is responsible to the workforce and solely subordinated to it.

Direct forms of participation in management include general meetings of workers and a referendum carried out on key matters of the workforce self-government.

The draft bill defines in detail the competence of decisionmaking, the issuance of opinions, the control of the enterprise workforce council, the principles of its activity and the appointment of auxiliary organs. The draft envisages the appointment of a workforce council of enterprises in multiplant enterprises and the council of an association which combines state enterprises. More detailed decisions are regulated by the self-government statute, which is elaborated and adopted by the workforce council and endorsed through referendum by all the workers of the enterprise. The participation of the workforce in the management of an enterprise should have not only an economic and organizational aspect, but should also be of essential significance for the practical socialization of basic means of production. The workforce, through its self-government, participates in the management of an enterprise and represents general social interests, because the state enterprise, while aspiring to its own goals defined at its establishment, must also satisfy wider needs and not just those of a group. The realization of these goals and tasks is based on the unity of socialist ownership, which is one of the basic systematic principles. This is also contained in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

The development of self-government in enterprises will promote the shaping of active attitudes in workers' groups and the strengthening of a sense of joint management and shared responsibility of the workforce for the activities of the enterprises. The structural significance of this problem lies in the assumption that the activities of workforce self-governments at state enterprises will be placed under the patronage of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

May it please the House, the draft bill on state enterprises is linked organically with the submitted draft bill on self-government. According to the draft bill the state enterprise is a basic unit of the national economy which embraces the organized workers' collective and the apportioned or partly purchased part of national assets. The state enterprise acts on its own behalf. A basic condition for the existence of the enterprise should be the attainment of economic efficiency through the conduct of independent economic activity, aimed at satisfying social needs. The draft bill introduces the principle that, in all matters of a state enterprise, the workforce council and the director have authority, while the founding organ which oversees the enterprise can intervene in enterprise matters only to the extent for which there is legal provision.

Former legal regulations, in particular the regulations of the 1950 decree on state enterprises, have not defined unambiguously the extent and the forms of control. In a centralistic model of management the superior units intervened in matters of the enterprise to the extent which they regarded as proper. Such intervention would be contrary to the provisions of the economic reform, because one cannot expect from an enterprise and its management the obtainment of good socioeconomic effects when many basic matters are decided outside the enterprise. The draft bill introduces the principle that in matters of a state enterprise the director and the workforce council have authority in accordance with their alloted competence.

The unit controlling an enterprise can intervene solely and exclusively on the basis and to the extent defined by legal regulations. The draft bill defines the legal means and procedures if an enterprise should deem it indispensable to defend its interests. The regulations of the extent and the means of state control over a state enterprise will allow the clear definition of the competence and responsibility of the director of an enterprise and of the controlling unit. The enterprise is thus given effective legal means which serve the realization of the principle of independence and self-government.

State enterprises can set up associations on a voluntary basis. In socially and economically essential cases, the Council of Ministers may decide on the obligation to set up associations of state enterprises. The bill also defines the regulations for setting up, dividing and liquidating state enterprises. It also provides for the possibility of declaring an enterprise bankrupt. These decisions are to ensure economic efficiency, since units which do not meet these requirements can be dissolved.

The bill envisages the regulation of detailed solutions by means of executive orders. An important role should be played by the enterprise statute, whose draft is compiled by the director and which is approved by the workforce's council. The future law on state enterprises will not have full application to some economic organizations of a particular nature. This applies, among others, to banking institutions, Polish national insurance institutions, Polish State Railways institutions, Polish posts and telecommunications institutions, and others. The bill also envisages that the enterprise statute will, in some sectors, require approval by the founding body. This is dictated by concern to safeguard the state's supreme interests. The bill regulates a number of other issues important for the organization and operation of state enterprises, which will doubtless be considered during the Sejm commission's work.

Esteemed Sejm! The question of a correct distribution of duties and powers among basic enterprise bodies is an important and complex problem, that is to say, the workforce council and the director. The essence of relations between them must, of course, be cooperation and collaboration, mutual aid and support in implementing complex economic and social matters. The efforts to fix clearly the competences of those bodies will certainly serve to develop collaboration, just as a lack of this clarity may weaken the efficiency of the enterprise's operation. At the same time, it is obviously very difficult to divide the duties and powers, because the activities undertaken are mutually interdependent. The bills before the chamber confirm the single management of an enterprise by the director. At the same time, the bills require the director to act in accordance with the law and the binding resolutions of the enterprise workforce council. The bills envisage supervisory powers of the founding body--that is, the minister or voivoda, president or chief administrative officer. The bill on self-government of the state enterprise workforce says the workforce council makes binding resolutions, that is binding on the enterprise director on such issues as, among others, passing and amending the plan; approving the annual report and ratifying the balance; undertaking investments; concluding agreements to set up a joint enterprise or becoming a member of a group; giving assent to a change in the direction of the enterprise's activity; allocating the funds; getting rid of unnecessary machinery and installations; and many other issues. The appropriate bodies are required to obtain the workforce council's opinion on issues of: amending the order on setting up the enterprise; merging, dividing and liquidating the enterprise; concluding long-term agreements and contracts; the enterprise's organizational structure and other issues.

There are two fundamental consequences of such wide-reaching powers of the enterprise workforce council. First, the binding influence of the workforce council on appointing and recalling the enterprise director; and, second, definition of the legal measures designed to safeguard the powers of the workforce council and the director of the enterprise. The enterprise director is appointed and recalled by the founding body, with the consent of the workforce council. In the order on setting up the enterprise, there may be provision for the workforce council to appoint and recall the enterprise director and for this to be confirmed by the founding body. In both cases, therefore, the cooperation of two factors--the founding body and the workforce council--is envisaged.

During the period of achieving economic stabilization of the country and introducing the economic reform, there is a possibility of the emergence of tensions more frequently than in conditions of stable activity. The same applies to conflict situations in enterprises. Time will also be required for partners to improve their mastery of the difficult art of cooperation in solving these tensions. The draft bills provide for legal means designed to protect the competence, and the rights, of the workforce council and the director of the enterprise.

Thus, the workforce council has the right to halt the implementation of a decision made by the director of the enterprise, if the decision was made contrary to its legally valid resolution, or without having consulted the workforce council. The draft bills envisage that the director can halt the implementation of a decision of the workforce council when it is contrary to the stipulations of law, and refuse to carry out the decision if he considers this might cause a serious infringement of social interest.

The deferment of the implementation of a decision makes it compulsory to reexamine the issue. If the questioned decision is upheld, the controversy will be settled by an enterprise arbitration commission. If this proves ineffective, the case will be transferred to the state economic arbitration which will finally resolve the dispute. The adopted construction is to ensure the rule of law, observance of prerogatives, and in case of argument, its solution in such a way that the activity of the enterprise is not disturbed. The right of the workforce council to come forward with a justified proposal for the recall of the director, provided for by the draft, is the last resort.

It is necessary to express the conviction that, as the new precepts for the functioning of enterprises are consolidated, potential conflicts will be resolved as they emerge and there will be no need to resort to complex procedures for the settlement of conflicts. The existence of this procedure should also be assessed as a factor of general prevention.

May it please the House! In the final reckoning, the functioning of the submitted bills and the introduction of the entire reform will be determined by the scale of execution of the social and economic changes. This depends on the attitudes of men and their individual and collective responsibility for the national assets handed over to the enterprise for the undertaken and implemented plans and decisions. The widening of responsibility must embrace all employees in the enterprise--needless to say, in proportion to the work carried out and the post occupied. The legal definition of the essence and precepts of independence, self-government and responsibility of enterprises must be considered as one of the most urgent targets of the reform.

The enterprise and the workforce are the fundamental elements of the socioeconomic organism and from the moment of their legal definition the irreversible process of transforming the system of functioning of the economy begins. Taking the above into consideration, I ask the esteemed House to examine and approve the draft bills submitted by the government.

Agreement With Miners Urged

LD030954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0655 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Speech by Deputy Ryszard Najsznerski at Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen-speaker, may it please the House, the Sejm deputies whose signatures appear below--Franciszek Sielanczuk, Ryszard Najsznerski, Jan Kubit, Stanislaw Skladowski, Elzbieta (?Rudkowska), Maria Ciszewska, Jozef (?Rzymankowski), Kazimierz (?Chromy), Franciszek Grolewski, Anna (?Lemen), Ludwik Edmund Listewnik, Stanislaw Kamieniarz, Jan Konieczny, Alojzy Bryl and Marian Karasek, being guided by real need and their own initiative, are appealing to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic for the adoption of the following resolution:

The way out of the current economic crisis is conditioned to a decisive degree on solving the accumulated problems in the area of power and fuel economy, especially in the extraction of coal and the safeguarding of minimum power requirements during the autumn and winter months.

The present state of supplies to the national economy of coal, and in consequence the prospects for satisfying power needs, cause the necessity for determined actions to be taken by the government which are aimed at the agreement of basic conditions with the mining workforces. This agreement would guarantee a coal extraction increase during work days and--on the principle of full voluntary efforts of mining workforces--also during days free of work, which include Saturdays in the mining industry.

Such a program should be agreed upon between the government and representatives of mining workforces by 31 July 1981 and implemented consistently. At the same time the Sejm recommends to the Commission for Mining, Power, and Chemical Industry that the above matter should be made the subject of its particular interest.

Resolution on USSR Peace Appeal

LD031006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Draft Sejm resolution on appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the parliaments and peoples of the world, passed by Sejm deputies at 3 July Sejm session in Warsaw; read by Sejm Vice Marshal Andrzej Werblan--live]

[Text] Citizen-deputies! On 23 June, 1981, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world. The document sent to the Sejm concerns a fundamental issue: the preservation of peace and opposition to the growing arms race. Matters of peace and detente also occupy a leading place in the foreign policy of People's Poland. At present they acquire special significance in a situation when the successful course of socialist renewal in Poland is linked with the peaceful development of international relations in the world, in particular in Europe. The steering committee proposes that the house should adopt the following resolution in connection with the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic expresses its determined support for the appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world by the USSR Supreme Soviet. It sees in the appeal another proof of consistency in the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which serves the interests of all the peoples.

The appeal, which refers to the 40th anniversary of Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union, recalls the heroism of the Soviet people's struggle, which had to bear the heaviest losses and constituted the main force for smashing fascism. Thanks to this, a new balance of power was established in Europe which forms the foundation of the peace which has continued ever since.

In the memory of the Polish people, who were sentenced to destruction by the German policy of genocide, the joint struggle of Soviet and Polish soldiers for the liberation of our country and the creation of peaceful development conditions for Poland on the basis of Odra, Mysa Luzycka, and the Baltic Sea, has been permanently inscribed. The tragic experiences of the peoples participating in World War II and the conclusions resulting from the actual and dangerously exacerbating international situation, confirm the need emphasized in the appeal and the importance of undertaking all possible means in order to halt the arms race and prevent another world war.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic fully shares the conviction expressed in the appeal that at present the speediest opening of talks, without preconditions, in order to prevent another stage in the rocket and nuclear arms race is essential. Such a race could lead to dangerous and irrevocable effects, which threaten the security interests of all European states without exception.

We deem it particularly urgent to open talks between the USSR and the United States on what are known as Euro-(?strategic) arms. The proposals expressed recently by Leonid Brezhnev form a good basis for this.

We support the speediest possible conclusion of the Madrid meeting and its constructive results, which will strengthen the security and deepen the cooperation of European states. We renew the proposal to convene in Warsaw a conference on military (?detente) and disarmament in Europe.

Socialist Poland confirms once more its determination to cooperate with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community in implementing the program for the consolidation of detente and disarmament, adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. We confirm our readiness to actively participate in all forms of dialogue with every state on the problems of peace, security, and international cooperation.

Declaring the commitment of the Polish people to the cause of peace and socialism, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic notes that Polish foreign policy serves unchangingly the interests of unity and cooperation of the socialist states, and thus peaceful stabilization and detente in Europe. [applause]

Bryk on State Reorganization

LD031144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0810 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Speech by Ryszard Bryk presenting government draft bill on government organization at 3 July Polish Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen-speaker! May it please the House! The government has proposed for debate by the chamber a basic package of proposals concerning changes in the functioning of the supreme and central economic administration. This proposal results from the assumptions of the economic reform and at the same time is a sign of the government's determination to bring into force the first solutions which, in line with the spirit and the letter of the reform, are obvious without waiting for the introduction of the reform itself.

The government's proposals have been discussed at three successive joint sessions of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Commission for Legislative Work, with the participation of representatives of all appropriate branch commissions of the Sejm. The commissions have expressed support for the planned organizational formulas of the central administration. There was not one single voice opposing the general assumptions put forward by the government, with simultaneous [word indistinct] differences of opinion on the concrete proposals. The reorganization of the central administration enables and creates the essential conditions for the initiation of the economic reform, being itself an important element of it. This is not a mechanical merger of the links of supreme administrative bodies. It is the determination of structures suitable for the coming tasks, which emerge from the approved principles of the reform.

The result of these changes is to be the achievement of a definite improvement in the efficiency of managing production processes; in the creation of practical organizational forms enabling the introduction of the forms and getting out of the economic crisis.

The changes proposed by the government and accepted by the commissions will, after their introduction, create organizational foundations for a more extensive implementation of the basic principle of the socialist economy--the public management of national resources--in the interests of the nation as a whole. Our national economy has experienced many reorganizations. Various mergers and divisions took place. Some of them were simple, others were more complicated. They were always being justified by the requirements of the national economy and also by social needs yet, more often than not, they derived from the interests of a narrow section of people and were always piecemeal and incapable of yielding the intended social and economic benefits. Therefore, it is understandable that the nation nowadays distrusts the very sound of the word reorganization, while at the same time there exists widespread public need for changes to be made in the functioning of the central economic administration system.

The previous reforms, mainly those of the fifties and seventies, failed to bring the expected results because, among other things, they stopped short of affecting central administration. At present, it is essential to treat the matter comprehensively, synthetically and to deal with reform of the central and executive administration as a whole in combination with the basic elements of the economic reform, such as the law on enterprises, the law on the self-government of workforces, and other draft bills which are in preparation and about which Deputy Premier Citizen Andrzej Jedynak spoke

yesterday, as well as with the changes in the functioning of the Council of Ministers which will necessarily follow the changes in the functions of the ministries.

The essence of the changes being introduced lies not in a change of the organization, which in this case amounts only to a change of form, but in the change of functions which amounts to a shift from the method of administering by direct orders, directives, circular letters and bureaucratic-administrative forms of direction, to self-reliance--and consequently responsibility--on the part of the basic elements of the national economy with regard to the results of their performance. Such a presentation of the issue is organically linked with the creation of a system of direction through economic instruments and mechanisms, as well as through implementation mechanisms which help to break through organizational barriers, while at the same time creating profound ties among the basic elements of the national economy, as well as between them and the units of central administration.

After the changes in the executive and central economic administration there will follow, at the second stage, a strengthening of the functions of functional departments, but this will be achieved by means of the impact conveyed by economic instruments and by the creation of solutions affecting the whole system, and not by means of purely administrative formulas. This will be true also in the case of changes in the functions of the central plan--and consequently, the functions of the Planning Commission--mainly as a result of the new role of enterprises, their independence and self-government, and also the principle of self-financing, treated as a principle of fundamental importance.

The new role of the central administration is, therefore, an element of a comprehensive, logical and compact concept of introducing reform, finding a way out of the crisis and ensuring the development of the national economy.

Among the more important new functions of ministries are the working out of a development policy; coordinating functions; coparticipating in the creation of financial and economic instruments; transferring solutions worked out in individual economic organisms to the entire economy in a given field; analysis and assessment of the activity of subordinate enterprises and (?organizational) units; and implementation of the conclusions drawn from these analyses.

May it please the House! The government has proposed drafts of eight bills introducing changes in the structure of central economic administration bodies. On 12 June this year, the Sejm Presidium sent these drafts for examination to the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and to the Commission for Legislative Work. In line with the decision by the Sejm Presidium, individual drafts were also commented on by the appropriate branch commissions of the Sejm. The representatives of those commissions also took part in three joint sessions given over to those acts of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Commission for Legislative Work. The results of this work you have before you, citizen deputies, in the form of published reports containing the proposed amendments. I would like to begin a brief outline of the most important amendments and discussion of the most important topics discussed within the work on these acts, by drawing attention to two items which the commissions propose to include in six of the eight draft bills, with the exception of the bill changing the law on banking law and the bill amending the law on the fuel and energy economy. The commissions think it useful to stress that the task of the minister is to manage the sectors entrusted to him in accordance with social and economic needs and the policy of a socialist state. This entry is an expression of the conviction that the reorganization currently being initiated will be the beginning of the end of ministerial particularism. Because the bills contain powers for the Council of Ministers to issue instructions defining the detailed scope of activity of individual ministers, and the drafts of these instructions have not been put forward, the commissions propose that it be put on record that, before these instructions are passed by the Council of Ministers, they are to be reviewed by the appropriate Sejm commissions. Therefore, the detailed scope of activity of those ministers should be considered by the appropriate Sejm commissions.

Also, the changes in the detailed ranges of activity of these ministers should be reviewed by corresponding Sejm commissions. The draft bill creating the office of minister of metallurgy and engineering industry has caused relatively the least controversy among deputies. As a result, as well as the two aforementioned amendments, the commissions demand only the deletion from the range of activity of that minister of the production of machines and installations for telecommunications. The majority of these installations are produced within the scope of the Ministry of Telecommunications and in the opinion of the deputies, this should not be altered.

Most controversy has been caused by the draft bill creating the office of minister of agriculture, food industry and forestry. Although there were no doubts about combining agriculture and food industry, a number of arguments were raised in the case of forestry, which justified the temporary acceptance of a different solution from the government proposals. The deputies pointed to the specific, multifunctional character of the forest and the result of their organizational independence, and noted that the new ministry should facilitate the speedy mastering of the new method of directing the food complex. It was also said that the government proposal to divide forestry and timber industry between two ministries contrasted with the principle of combining industries with their material and raw material base, which principle has been adopted in the case of the remaining ministries.

In favor of accepting the proposals there were also weighty arguments, like the natural links between forestry and agriculture, common land management, the importance of the forest for the regulation of water relations, the links between the pulp and paper industry, the furniture industry and [word indistinct] with the chemical industry, and the purposefulness of organizational separation of timber consuming industries from forestry--which would probably create more favorable conditions for the protection of forests against excessive felling, and would serve better for the organization of production in the mentioned spheres.

Not being fully convinced of the correctness of the submitted organizational solution, and fearing that it could increase the costs thereof by possible losses in the underinvested forestry--losses difficult to put right for natural reasons--the commissions propose that the decision on the organizational allocation of forestry and timber industry should be reached during the next stage, among other things until the submission by the government of organizational proposals concerning the protection of the environment. Reaching a decision in this matter should then be easier in view of the fact that we shall be richer in experiences from the functioning of the offices appointed today. This proposal should by no means form a basis for doubts of the positive attitude of the commisions toward the economic reform.

While favoring the reform in general, the commissions must not deprive themselves of the opportunity to evaluate the detailed proposals connected with that reform. The commissions propose at the same time that the new administrative office should be called the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy. During discussion on the scope of activity of the minister of agriculture and food economy, the commissions stated that it is essential to concentrate the water economy complex in one central economic administrative body whose scope of activity would not include types of activity causing water pollution. The commissions ask the government to prepare a bill in this sphere. Moreover, the commissions appeal to the government to make an effort so that the organizational changes in agriculture and the agricultural and food industry do not have an adverse influence on this year's harvest and the storage of agricultural produce. The commissions express the hope that the working group set up under the chairmanship of a deputy premier for the period of the harvest of agricultural produce will also note this suggestion.

In connection with the above proposal to retain the office of minister of forestry and timber industry in the next stage, the commissions propose that in the first stage the scope of activity of the minister of chemical and light industries should not include the furniture, pulp-paper and match industries. The bill submitted to the house on creating the office of a minister of foreign trade envisages that the maritime economy complex will be divided off from the present Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy.

This proposal did not give rise to any reservations. There was wide-ranging discussion, on the other hand, over the proposal by the Commission for Foreign Trade that the minister of foreign trade be entrusted with supervising central foreign trade agencies which come under other ministries. The government project envisages coordination by the minister of foreign trade of the activity of these agencies. The Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Commission for Legislative Work adopted the stand that coordinating the activity and particularly giving and retracting powers to carry on activity in the foreign trade sphere, which is linked, after all, with the definition of the conditions for carrying out this activity, assures the minister of foreign trade, who leads a functional ministry, of sufficient influence on the activity of central foreign trade agencies which are not directly subordinate to him. The commissions recognized that the government proposal in this sphere accords with the assumptions of the economic reform. They propose, however, its augmentation with a regulation stating that the coordination powers of the minister of foreign affairs be defined by the Council of Ministers in a decree, a draft of which in accordance with the proposed principle, will be commented upon by the appropriate Sejm commissions.

The government has submitted the draft bill on setting up the central office of maritime economy. Wishing to ensure a high status for this organ of state administration responsible for an important sphere of economic activity, and, at the same time, seeking to adapt this body to the scale of the activity involved--taking into account the number of people it employs--the commissions propose the creation of an office of maritime economy in the charge of a minister of maritime economy. This solution, in comparison with the government's proposal is accepted, the wishes and views of Sejm commissions on maritime economy will have to be forwarded directly to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The draft bill concerning the setting up of the office of the minister of mining and power industry envisages that the scope of activity of this minister will also cover matters pertaining to the use of nuclear energy in the national economy.

The Commissions of Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and of Legislative Work share, however, the view of the Commission on Science and Technical Progress that the correct implementation of our undertakings in the production of equipment for nuclear power stations--undertakings which are covered by specific contracts on specialization--requires that the nuclear power industry should now be subordinated to another organ of administration.

A proper implementation of basic contacts signed in this field is greatly important because it is the condition of the construction of nuclear power stations in Poland. Consequently, proposing the relevant change in the draft bill concerning the creation of the office of the minister of mining and power industry, the commissions turn to the government with a request for a speedy submission of a draft solution on the issue of the state's control over the use of nuclear power in the national economy. On the basis of the assumption that the State Council of Mining should be an independent advisory body assisting the minister of mining and power industry, the commissions also submit the demand that Article Seven of the draft be deleted: According to this article, the minister would be expected to determine the composition, organization, scope and the procedure of the functioning of that council.

The commissions propose that an insertion should be made in the law amending the law on the fuel and power economy so that the decree of the Council of Ministers, which defines the range within which the minister of material economy can issue instructions regulating the fuel and power economy, will be reviewed by corresponding Sejm commissions. Thus this is a similar amendment as proposed in the six previous draft bills, in that the former concerned the opinions of commissions on a detailed range of ministers' activity.

The draft bill amending the law on banking remains to be discussed. The government proposals, in accordance with the basic trends of the reform, aim at an increased role for banks in the economic and financial system of the state through the transfer of part of the rights of the minister of finance to the Council of Banks and to the chairman of the National Polish Bank, and through the appointment of the chairman of the National Polish Bank by the Sejm. Such solutions are a direct result from the basic premises of the economic reform.

During work on this bill the Sejm received proposals from the Bank of the Food Economy concerning the new rendition of Articles 43 through 49 of the banking law. These articles aim at underlining the cooperative character of this bank and strengthening the resulting self-government. These proposals have obtained the support of the Commission on Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance and the Commission on Legislative Work, and they have also been accepted by government representatives.

The commissions are also proposing that a third paragraph be added to Article 29 of the banking law to read:

The Council of Ministers submits to the Sejm together with the draft state budget a credit plan and a balance of payments plan.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize very strongly just one more problem. The commissions are aware of the importance which the shape of the earlier discussed laws has for the functioning of the economy.

However, the success of the entire undertaking, the change of function and tasks of the ministries, will as always be determined by those who are going to implement these laws. I say this, although it is a truism, because this truth has been only verbally accepted in the past. If in the selection of cadres nonessential considerations will decide this time as well, then this reform will have a difficult existence.

Taking care of work for all who, as a result of the reduction of the number of ministries by five and the change of tasks of the central and supreme administrative organs, will have to change their place of employment, the government must at the same time be careful that jobs in the new ministries will be found for those with the best qualifications.

Citizens-deputies, the implementation of organizational changes in the central and supreme administrative organs is the initial condition for the introduction of the economic reform and the alteration of the function of these organs is one of its essential components. Hence, the draft bills examined in the present item on the agenda of our debate are a practical confirmation that the government plans to introduce the reform consistently. On behalf of the Commission of the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance and of the Commission for Legislative Work I propose the adoption of the above draft bills together with the amendments handed out to the citizen-deputies. Thank you for your attention.

Jaruzelski Appoints New Ministers

LD031806 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1120 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at 3 July Polish Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen-speaker, may it please the house. The decisions taken today by the chamber concerning the reorganization of the supreme state administrative bodies are an important stage on the road to implementing the economic reform. The setting up of new sectional-branch ministries does not signify the mechanical combination of previous ministries. Important substantial principles lay at the basis of the bills tabled by the government; the desire that the structure of the central machinery for steering the economy facilitate to the maximum the implementation of the important transformations in the operation of enterprises; the implementation of rational self-government and the independence of basic economic units. For this reason we attach such great importance to shaping new functions for ministries, to be directly harmonized with the principles of operating enterprises. The activity of the new-type ministries should, first and foremost, be aimed at solving problems of strategic significance, at shaping conditions to ensure a concurrence of the interests of enterprises with the general public interest. It will, therefore, be essential to make profound transformations in the organizational structure of ministries and in the style and methods of their operation to create new capabilities in steering economic activity in line with the assumptions of the reform. In the preparations for it to date, conceptual work, which could be done almost entirely by social groups like the Commission for Economic Reform, has been dominant. The government is counting on the commission's further fruitful involvement.

However, at the same time, it is essential for the state and economic administration to participate in the preparatory work and particularly in the introduction of the reform at all levels. At government level, this work should be suitably inspired, programmed and coordinated. In connection with this, as announced, I intend to establish for a period of 3 years the post of government plenipotentiary for economic reform affairs and I propose that he have the rank of minister, and member of the Council of Ministers. I would like briefly to take a stand on the proposal by the Sejm commissions regarding the postponement of a decision on the government proposal to merge forestry into the Ministry of Agricultural and Food Industry; and of the timber industry into the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industries. At the previous session I said that the government drafts are open. The Sejm commissions discussed these questions. Other, more conservative variants of organi ational solutions were put forward. In this situation, the government thinks with respect to the location of forestry and the timber industry and within the context of environmental protection, that it will be most appropriate to restudy all the pros and cons, to weigh all the various arguments, including those formulated by scientists and economic activists, and also the opinions of people directly interested, that is to say, forestry workers and timber industry employees from factories. It is the government's intention that this problem be solved in an optimum way, in the spirit of the assumptions of the reform and taking into consideration the specific characteristics of the forestry-timber complex. This matter should be reverted to at successive sessions of the Sejm, during which further government proposals will be tabled concerning the organization and operation of the central machinery for steering the economy.

May it please the House. Referring to the changes passed by the Sejm in the organization of some supreme and central state administrative bodies and to the resultant abolition of the offices of ministers operating up to now, I request the recall of Citizen Zbigniew Bartosiewicz from the post of minister of power industry and atomic energy; of Citizen Henryk Gawronski from the post of minister of machine engineering industry; of Citizen Mieczyslaw Glanowski from the post of minister of mining; of Citizen Wladyslaw Jablonski from the post of minister of light industry; of Citizen Kazimierz Klek from the post of minister of chemical industry; of Citizen Stanislaw Wylupek from the post of minister of heavy and agricultural machines industry; of Citizen Jan Zaleski from the post of minister of food industry and purchases. In addition, I request the recall of Citizen Janusz Gorski from the post of minister of science, higher education and technology; of Citizen Tadeusz Rudolf from the post of minister without portfolio. I intend to recall Citizen Tadeusz Rudolf from the post of first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers as well. I express the conviction that the chamber will accept the above-mentioned proposals.

I would like to thank Zbigniew Bartosiewicz, Henryk Gawronski, Mieczyslaw Glanowski, Wladyslaw Jablonski, Kazimierz Klek, Stanislaw Wylupek, Jan Zaleski, Janusz Gorski and Tadeusz Rudolf for their devoted work in the government. They will have an opportunity for further action in other posts.

While making changes in the organization of certain senior executive and central bodies of the state administration the house, through its decisions, has set up new ministerial posts. In order to fill them I submit a proposal for the appointment of:

Citizen Ryszard Karski, to the post of minister of foreign trade, at the same time recalling him from the post of minister of foreign trade and maritime economy;

Citizen Jan Knapik, to the post of minister of chemical and light industry;

Citizen Lt Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski, to the post of minister of mining and power industry;
Citizen Zbigniew Szalajda, to the post of minister of metallurgy and engineering industry, at the same time recalling him from the post of minister of metallurgy;

Citizen Jerzy Wojtecki, to the post of minister of agriculture and food economy, at the same time recalling him from the post of minister of agriculture;

Citizen Wladyslaw Baka, to the proposed post of minister and member of the Council of Ministers, who will be the plenipotentiary representative of the government for matters concerning economic reform. Anxious to create the most advantageous conditions for effective work by the plenipotentiary representative I intend to approach the Council of Ministers with a proposal to appoint Citizen Wladyslaw Baka to the Government Presidium;

Citizen Stanislaw Bejger, to the post of minister in charge of the office of maritime economy.

In addition, I submit a proposal for the appointment of:

Citizen Jerzy Nawrocki, to the post of minister of science, higher education and technology;

Citizen Wladyslaw Jablonski, to the post of minister, whom I intend to appoint also to the post of first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers.

The bill to change the law on banking envisages the appointment of a chairman of the Polish National Bank by the Sejm. I propose that the present chairman of that bank be appointed to this post. He is Citizen Stanislaw Majewski.

Now, I would like to present brief personal details about these candidates.

Citizen Jan Knapik was born in 1931 in France into a worker family. He graduated from the higher school of economics in Krakow and has a PhD in economic sciences. He began professional work in 1956 in the nitrogen plant in Tarnow, where he worked up to 1961 as an economist and then as deputy director of a section. In 1962-64, he was economic secretary in the district PZPR Committee in Tarnow. From 1965-68, he was head of a department in the nitrogen industry amalgamation in Krakow, and from 1969-70, deputy director for economic affairs in the nitrogen plant in Tarnow. From 1970-72 he was director of the organization and information center of the petrochemical industry in Krakow, from where he went to work in the refinery and petrochemical industry amalgamation petrochemia in Krakow, where he is director for economic and employee affairs. He also serves as deputy chairman of the Polish Economic Society and is a member of the Commission for Economic Reform.

Citizen Ryszard Karski was born in 1926 in Borki in Krosno Voivodship into a peasant family. He completed higher studies in economics at the Academy of Commerce in Krakow. Since 1957 he has been working in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy in managerial posts. During the period 1969-73 he was undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy and later, from 1973, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to the Republic of Austria. In 1978, he was appointed undersecretary of state, first deputy minister of foreign trade and maritime economy. he is a PZPR member.

Citizen Lt Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski was born in 1926 in Huta Stefanska in Wolyn into a peasant family. During the occupation he took part in guerrilla fighting. He has battle decorations--the Freedom Fighter's Cross, the Cross of Valor. He completed higher technological studies, obtaining the title of master of science in civil engineering, and also completed the General Staff Academy. He has a PhD in military sciences. Since 1944, he has served in the Polish Army as a sapper, including at the posts of commander of a batallion and deputy commander of a brigade of sappers, chief of the sappers of a military district, and, in 1972-78, chief of the sappers in the Ministry of National Defense. Since 1978, he has been head of research and development in military technology and deputy chief inspector of technology of the Polish Army. He collaborated in the engineering works to implement many industrial and transportation investment projects. He is a PZPR member.

Citizen Zbigniew Szalajda was born in 1934 in Wilno into a family of the intelligentsia. He completed higher technological studies with the title of master of science in engineering. He has been working in the metallurgical industry since 1956, at first in the Florian steelworks in Swietochlowice and then, in the Feliks Dzierzynski steelworks in Dabrowa Gornicza, in the Kosciuszko steelworks in Chorzow, and since 1974, as director of the Katowice steelworks. In 1980, he was appointed minister of metallurgy. He is a PZPR member.

Citizen Jerzy Wojtecki was born in 1929 in Wagrowiec into a worker family. He graduated from the higher school of agriculture in Wroclaw, obtaining the title of agricultural engineer. During 1954-65 and 1968-72, he worked in the Presidium of the voivodship People's Council in Poznan. Finally as director of the department of agriculture and forestry in 1965-68, he was head of the Agrochem enterprise in Poznan. From 1972-74, he was agricultural secretary of the voivodship PZPR Committee in Poznan, and from 1974 director of the Agriculture and Food Department of the PZPR Central Committee. In February 1981 he was appointed minister of agriculture. During 1975-78, he was a candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee. In 1980, he became a Central Committee member and from September 1980 to April 1981 he was a Central Committee secretary. He is a Sejm deputy.

Citizen Wladyslaw Baka was born in 1936 in Boksycka in the Kielce Voivodship, into a worker family. He is a professor of economic sciences. Since 1958 he has been working at the University of Warsaw, from 1977 as a professor extraordinary. At the same time, since 1972, he has been working in the PZPR Central Committee, from 1973 as a deputy director of a department. He is the author and coauthor of many books and scientific publications in the sphere of programming, planning and the system of operation of the economy. He is secretary of the Commission for Economic Reform, a member of the Presidium of the Committee of Economic Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a member of scientific councils at university and ministerial institutes.

Citizen Stanislaw Bejger was born in 1929 in Piatkowa in Torun Voivodship, into a worker family. He completed higher studies in economics in Sopot. In 1958, he began professional work in the Ministry of Shipping as a senior adviser and then, from 1959, worked in the Polish Ocean Lines among other things as works director and from 1969 to 1976 as director in chief. From 1976-80, he was commercial counsellor at the Polish Embassy in Helsinki. Since November 1980, he has been works director of the Asian and Australian lines of the Polish Ocean Lines in Gdynia. He is a PZPR member.

Citizen Jerzy Nawrocki was born on 20 December 1926 in Irzciana in Rzeszow Voivodship, into a worker family. He graduated from the Silesian Polytechnic in Gleiwitz, obtaining the title of master of science in mining mechanization. In 1960, he received a PhD in technical sciences and in 1966 an assistant professorship. The title of professor extraordinary of technical sciences was awarded to him in 1969 and that of full professor in 1978. Since 1954 he has been working at the Wincenty Pstrowski Memorial Silesian Polytechnic in Gleiwitz, climbing the ladder of scientific and teaching posts. Since 1978, he has been rector of that polytechnic. He has a considerable scientific output to his credit in the field of mining technology. He is a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He has been a Sejm deputy since 1972 and since 1974 he has been chairman of the Sejm Commission for Science and Technical Progress. He is a PZPR member.

Citizen Wladyslaw Jablonski was born on 12 December 1932 in Krakow, into a family of the intelligentsia. He completed higher studies at Lodz Polytechnic and is an assistant professor of technical sciences. He began professional work during his studies in 1953-56 in a cotton industry plant in Lodz. During 1956-66 he was on the academic staff at the textile industry department of the Lodz Polytechnic. He was transferred from there in 1966 to work in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers as deputy director of the light industry team. In 1969, he became director of the team. From 1972, he was undersecretary of state, first deputy minister of light industry and, since October 1980, minister of light industry. He is a PZPR member.

Citizen Stanislaw Majewski was born in 1915 in (Celabinsk), into a family of the intelligentsia. He completed the law department of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Between 1945-50 he worked in banking. From 1950-65 he worked in the Ministry of Finances, finally as a director of a department. In 1965, he was appointed to the position of chairman of the Polish National Bank, and to the position of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Finance. In 1968 he became minister of finance. During the years 1969-71 he was deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers. From 1971-76 he held the post of deputy permanent representative of the Polish People's Republic at CEMA in Moscow. In 1976, he was appointed deputy chairman of the Polish National Bank.

Then, in 1980, the Council of Ministers appointed him to the position of chairman of the Polish National Bank. He is a PZPR member.

I request the esteemed house to accept the proposals submitted.

Milewski on Hooliganism

LD031824 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1519 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Speech by Minister of Internal Affairs Miroslaw Milewski at 3 July Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen-speaker, high chamber, I am obliged to answer the questions of Deputy Zofia Kalisz concerning the government program for fighting hooliganism and the question of Citizen-Deputy Zdzislaw Pokorski on ensuring the peace and safety of citizens in the streets. The questions relate to subjects which are closely interlinked, since the element of hooliganism most frequently violates law and order in public places. For three reasons I shall give a joint answer to the questions.

It is true--the citizen-deputies have talked about this and it has often been discussed from this tribune--that crime, including hooliganism, is mounting in the country. This phenomenon, which is highly detrimental from the viewpoint of the community, has been making itself felt since the end of last year. There is evidence of this. This year has, unfortunately, brought no improvement. Work on cases involving attacks causing bodily harm, fights and assaults--which most often constitute acts of hooliganism--has increased by a fifth. An increase in brutality and aggression by those who commit criminal acts and also acts of hostility against representatives of law protection organs, in particular against Civil Militia personnel, and even--something unprecedented in Poland--toward soldiers of the People's Polish Army, should be emphasized. We have had cases of criminal bestiality toward victims and also the phenomenon of violence and destruction, an example of which were the events of Otwock. There have been cases of paralysing and foiling the work of the forces of law and order, mainly by young people.

This year we have recorded over 400 active assaults, resulting in over 500 Civil Militia functionaries being injured. Of the 450 criminals responsible for these acts, 270 were drunk. Unfortunately, some such cases meet no social opposition. There are many examples. I shall allow myself only one--from Zary. Seven drunk men stopped a Civil Militia car. They beat up the two functionaries in front of a crowd of over 100 people. Some soldiers who happened to be there helped catch and overpower the attackers. The crowd did not react.

Apart from criminal acts of a hooligan character, acts which violate peace and public order or which evoke disapproval, constitute a considerable part of all criminal acts. Over the period of a year the Civil Militia sent over 200,000 prosecutions to colleges concerning matters of crime. The majority of these crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol and hence they must and should be treated as hooliganism.

An increased consumption of alcohol manifests itself in the increased participation of drunks among those responsible for other crimes. The number of drunks detained by the militia testifies to the scale of the problem. Every year, militia personnel take over 300,000 persons to sobering up stations and over 140,000 persons to militia cells because not everywhere are there sobering up stations or enough places in them. A similar number are taken to their families, to their homes. Every day, over 40 drunken drivers are prosecuted.

Preventing and fighting crimes and transgressions of a hooligan nature constitutes one of the significant--beginning in July, according to a statement by the chairman of the Council of Ministers--extremely significant tasks of the Civil Militia. As in all tasks assigned to us, I should like to say to the high chamber with the greatest honesty, to say honestly and openly, that the Civil Militia, the security organs, can be effective in their work only when they meet with the support and good will of the community. We recently met with such good will on the part of the high chamber and the highest party and state echelons of our country.

On many occasions the subject of the state of law and order has been the subject of sessions of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs.

It was because of this that work has been undertaken on the complex program of activities for improving social discipline and order and public safety in the country. I should like to inform the high chamber that on 23 June this program was endorsed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. It defined the tasks of various ministries and social organizations, and activities of both a preventive and educational character and of a repressive, organizational and propaganda nature were placed to the fore. In order not to take up time I ask all the citizen-deputies who are interested in the subject, to turn to the Commission for Internal Affairs where the chairman of the Council of Ministers sent that document; the document is extremely interesting and is unique in the history of the commission and the country. On the issue of ensuring the safety and peace of citizens, and of maintaining order in the streets and other public places, as noted in the question of Citizen Deputy Pokorski, the program envisages, among other things, ensuring a permanent presence of forces of law and order, supported by worker and trade union activists, in places under threat, to react decisively to active attacks, hooliganism, destruction of property, defiance of authorities, and all cases of violations of the law. A broader use of fines and actions prior to court proceedings are recommended, as is the case in dealing with those responsible for crimes and hooliganism committed under the influence of alcohol, and with those who commit active assaults on state and other functionaries. The program embraces, as I have already mentioned, a very wide range of undertakings. At the same time it envisages help in its implementation by all forces interested in the stabilization of life in Poland.

[Words indistinct] have received advice concerning strengthening the patrol service, which is already being realized with, as always, the active support of the soldiers of the Polish Peoples Army, members of the voluntary reserve of the Civil Militia and also of active members of the community, although as yet not in all voivodships. Civil militia units react in a decisive way to disturbances of public order by intervening and, in particular--and this is very important in present-day conditions--carry out such intervention until their mission is completed. Clear examples of this was their intervention on 15 June at the Katowice railroad station. Perhaps it was late, but it enforced safety and order. On 24 June on trains passing through four voivodships many persons were detained for demolishing railroad car furnishings, destroying passengers' property and disturbing order. Additional forces have been allotted in accordance with the directive of the program to help functionaries on patrol to deal with any hooligans. There are many examples of the directive passing a test of this sort.

Means of repressing people who constantly violate public order, particularly under the influence of alcohol, have been sharpened. In some voivodships, at the proposal of voivodas, a speedier procedure for dealing with transgressions has been introduced. This procedure is obligatory in 10 voivodships. It is envisaged that others will follow suit. Preparatory actions against those who commit crimes against state functionaries are undertaken intensively.

Perhaps a few words, reflections, connected with this. Opinion within the ranks of the Civil Militia was agitated by the fact that here and there appeared tendentious information about the militia--accusations that militia functionaries committed crimes, or offences, or transgressions, or that militia functionaries received privileges. I do not need to assure the high chamber that the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, me personally, declare that no functionaries of the Civil Militia who violates the law will wear a militia uniform or work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But I also want it known that we shall defend each of the functionaries against slander and false accusations.

On the issue of privileges I should only like to say that in the Warsaw headquarters there is a shortage of 1,000 functionaries. We cannot get staff because of the strenuous character of the service. We cannot ensure enough staff even by shifting people from clerical posts to working in the streets. Also a small detail--the chief at the Warsaw headquarters, a man with a high degree, earns, after 15 years of service, as much as an MKZ [as heard] driver.

High chamber. It is impossible to omit the numerous crimes and transgressions taking place at present which constitute political hooliganism--I am not exaggerating--which strikes at the safety and legal order of our state and which disturbs our good relations with socialist countries, in particular with the Soviet Union.

What is meant here above all, is the production and dissemination--often with the use of state means and equipment being used--of various inflammatory and politically damaging publications, pamphlets and posters; the painting of anti-state inscriptions on walls, fences and other places of this kind; and the calling of illegal meetings and gatherings to manifest hostile contents and attitudes. Finally, and this is particularly outrageous, the desecration of the symbols of our friendship with the Soviet Union or those which are devoted to the memory of the soldiers of this country who were killed in Poland fighting for its liberation.

Recently, in accordance with the instructions of a directive, we have in our possession facts which reveal that this equipment is exploited in state institutions in the Wroclaw, Lublin, Bydgoszcz and Radom Voivodships. These acts are the result of the climate which has been and is being created by persons for whom the socialist nature of our state and the close bond with the community of socialist countries is a thorn in their side.

In accordance with the decisions of the 11th Central Committee Plenum and the statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers at the last Sejm session, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has undertaken action in these directions--action aimed at revealing the perpetrators of these acts and at preventing such incidents in the future. I can inform the house that to date we know 10 perpetrators who have damaged monuments. Only in one instance--and this emerges from the data we have at our disposal--did the perpetrators act in an organized fashion. In two instances they acted in a state of inebriation. Other incidents are in the process of being investigated more deeply.

There is no justification for making statements which impute that these acts are carried out in a provocative manner, with the idea of compromising NSZZ Solidarity.

I have presented only some of the measures. We are undertaking a whole number of measures in accordance with the directive I mentioned earlier and about which the Citizen-Deputy Kalisz asked. I would like to stress that in the atmosphere which we experienced--and which perhaps we are still experiencing here and there as functionaries of the Civil Militia and of the security service--and in an atmosphere of a slanderous campaign and libel against functionaries of the Civil Militia and of the security service, the 12 June decision of the Sejm urging resolute action against all law violations has been very helpful to us.

On behalf of all functionaries I wish to assure you that this is our patriotic, professional duty--a duty which belongs to all citizen-deputies. This is a duty of Poles who are functionaries of our esteemed service.

Group on Balance of Payments

LD041306 Warsaw PAP in English 0822 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jul (PAP)--The Sejm Committee of the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance has appointed a standing subcommittee to follow closely all matters connected with Poland's balance of payments.

At its first meeting on July 7, the subcommittee will hear information provided by the Finance Minister Marian Krzak, Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission, and Ryszard Karski, the minister of foreign trade and maritime economy, on the state of Poland's balance of payments and all steps being taken by the government in connection with the country's foreign debts, the drawing of credits and their repayment.

Talking to a PAP commentator, chairman of the Plan Committee Professor Zbigniew Gertych said that never before had the Sejm looked so closely at all matters connected with the balance of payments and Poland's indebtedness. In exercising its functions, the subcommittee will be assisted by a group of experts composed of Sejm deputies and members of the government.

Sejm Session Concludes

LD041556 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 3 Jul (PAP)--The Polish Sejm here today wound up its two-day debates that focused chiefly on Poland's economic issues. Among the documents presented by the government during the session the most important was the programme of lifting this country from the economic crisis. Both the programme and the proposals of necessary changes in this year's plan and budget were passed on to parliamentary commissions, similarly as bills on self-management of state enterprise crews and on state enterprises.

The Sejm made changes in the structure of economic ministries, and approved personnel changes in the composition of the ministerial council as proposed by the prime minister after consultations with parliamentary commissions.

The Sejm passed the following laws:

--On the establishment of the office of the minister of agriculture and food economy;

--The office of the minister of mining and power industry and the office of the minister of metallurgy and engineering industry;

--The office of the minister of chemical and light industry;

--The office of the minister of foreign trade and the office of maritime economy;

--On amending the bank law;

--On amending the law on [word indistinct] power economy.

The Sejm recalled the following officials:

--Zbigniew Bartosiewicz, from the post of minister of power and nuclear energy;

--Henryk Gawronski from the post of minister of engineering industry;

--Mieczyslaw Glanowski, from the post of minister of mining;

--Kazimierz Klek, from the post of minister of chemical industry;

--Stanislaw Wylupek, from the post of minister of heavy and agricultural machines industry;

--Jan Zaleski, from the post of minister of food industry and purchases;

--Janusz Gorski, from the post of minister of science, education and technology;

--Tadeusz Rudolf, from the post of minister, member of the council of ministers.

The Sejm called up the following officials:

--Waldyslaw Baka, to the post of minister, member of the Council of Ministers, government plenipotentiary for economic reform and Stanislaw Bejger, to the post of minister to head the office of maritime economy.

--Ryszard Karski, to the post of minister of foreign trade, simultaneously calling him from the post of minister of foreign trade and maritime economy;

--Wladyslaw Jablonski, to the post of minister, member of the Council of Ministers, simultaneously recalling him from the post of minister of light industry.

--Jan Knapik, to the post of minister of chemical and light industry;

--Major General Czeslaw Piotrowski, to the post of minister of mining and power industry;

--Zbigniew Szalajda, to the post of minister of metallurgy and engineering industry, simultaneously recalling him from the post of minister of metallurgy;

--Jerzy Wojtecki, to the post of minister of agriculture and food economy, simultaneously recalling him from the post of minister of agriculture.

--Jerzy Nawrocki, to the post of minister of science, higher education and technology;

--Stanislaw Majewski, to the post of president of Naroddwy Bank Polski.

The Sejm adopted a resolution on fuel and power economy, which states that the overcoming of the present crisis depends to a huge extent on the level of coal extraction. The government should urgently reach agreement with miners on the basic conditions guaranteeing a rise in coal extraction on regular working [word indistinct], and on a voluntary basis on work-free days--i.e. Saturdays.

The Polish Sejm adopted a resolution in response to the appeal issued by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to parliaments and nations of the world, concerning such vital questions as the preservation of peace and opposition to the arms race.

Two acts passed by the Sejm refer to historical events in the life of this country that still are fresh in the Polish national memory. The acts introduce two distinctions: a medal "for participation in the 1939 defense way" and "the 1944 Warsaw insurgent's cross".

The Sejm Presidium decided to postpone the debate on the censorship bill till the next session.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON BREAKDOWN OF CONGRESS DELEGATES

AU060848 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jul 81 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Ninth Party Congress in 12 days--1,964 Delegates Elected"]

[Text] The PZPR campaign prior to the ninth party congress has ended. Party organizations in large factories and voivodship conferences elected 1,964 congress delegates. In keeping with the election rules binding on the entire party, 1 delegate represents some 1,800 party members. That is why the results of the elections of the ninth congress delegates in the largest voivodship party organizations were as follows: Katowice organization--233 delegates; Warsaw organization--125 delegates; Lodz organization--79 delegates; and Poznan organization--76 delegates. The full lists of delegates are being published in our daily.

The statistics show that the congress delegates include 393 workers, who account for 20 percent of all congress delegates, whereas the ratio of workers in the party amounts to over 44 percent. Nowy Sacz and Koszalin Voivodships have not elected a single worker as congress delegates. Of the workers elected as congress delegates 49 are secretaries of factory committees.

White-collar workers are the most numerous professional group among congress delegates and account for as much as 61 percent of all delegates. Every third such worker is an engineer or technician. Peasants account for almost 10 percent of the congress delegates, which corresponds with the peasant ratio in the party.

Many delegates are party functionaries. Among others, they include 202 first secretaries of factory committees, 43 first secretaries of voivodship committees and five Central Committee Secretaries.

The age breakdown of the delegates is interesting. The average age is not above 40, with just 39 delegates--2 percent of all delegates--being below 29 years of age. The number of female delegates is also small: altogether 100 women were elected, which accounts for just over 5 percent of all delegates.

DELEGATES TO PZPR CONGRESS BEGIN FINAL PREPARATIONS

LD041300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] The final stage of preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, beginning 14 July, is being characterized, among other things, by meetings of voivodship delegates' teams and also by many meetings with delegates from various social and professional milieus. The voivodship delegates' teams are discussing matters connected with how to prepare the congress debates in the best possible manner. The participation of delegates in the work of individual commissions and party forum teams is also being discussed. Joint stands are being defined, among others, on the agenda, the regulations governing the ninth congress, and election principles.

The voivodship delegates' team in Czestochowa discussed problems which can and should be dealt with within the framework of local possibilities. Attention was drawn to the fact that, in the dozen or so days that still remain before the congress, the opinions and demands submitted during meetings with the delegates must be thoroughly recorded.

The delegates' team in Lodz discussed, among others, the preliminary proposals of candidates from this voivodship to the central party authorities. It was decided that the candidacies would be the object of further consultation between members of the party organizations in districts and towns of Lodz Voivodship.

Meetings with delegates in particular milieus are an important form of preparations for the Ninth PZPR Congress. Several dozen delegates elected at conferences up and down the country are members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. During the past few days in Walbrzych, Czestochowa and Katowice Voivodships, among others, many of them met young people working in industry and agriculture. The day after tomorrow congress delegates who are ZSMP members will meet in Warsaw to discuss matters pertaining to their participation in the deliberations of the supreme forum of the PZPR.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON REALITIES OF PZPR CONGRESS

LD030920 Warsaw PAP in English 0807 GMT 3 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jul (PAP)--The nearer it is to the Extraordinary PUWP Congress, the bigger are the expectations, wrote ZYCIE WARSZAWY. The congress begins to be interpreted as a form of a panaceum. Some think that the economic reform will be taken in one stride together with the programme for balancing the economy, democratization in the party, accountability issues, assessments, ideological declarations etc. Sometimes the congress is treated in a mystical way as a sort of a phenomenon and not as a working platform for definite persons.

There will be no wonderful potion for welfare and justice. Anything that will be, will have to be worked out. We will get the programme we can afford, according to our needs and abilities, not to our dreams. Both delegates and the PUWP members they stand for, the entire populations, should be aware of this, remarked ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Today, when we are immersed in an economic crisis and debate over the limits of the social economic and political [words indistinct] way in Poland, we do not always remember that it was the Soviet Union which, regardless of its ideological reservations concerning some facets of political life in Poland, gave us, and continues to do so, consistent, abundant aid, without imposing any conditions, wrote ZYCIE WARSZAWY. [Words indistinct] in the period when the West kept on getting the transformations in Poland, the Soviet Union came out with a definite programme.

Also in the political sphere, and despite some sharp criticism, the Soviet Union tried to understand our reasons and the sense of renewal in Poland.

The acceptance by the Soviet authorities of the far-going transformations is by no means the result of the West's abundant threats and pressure. It is only proof of our friend's political wisdom, their tolerance and confidence that we will be able to solve our problems ourselves, wound up ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

LD021252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 2 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Leszek Grzybowski has expressed his views in TRYBUNA LUDU as part of the discussion before the ninth congress. The subject of his article is the role of ideology and ideological activity in the life of the party. The author begins by stating that, at various kinds of meetings, as well as in proposals and letters circulated to the party authorities, it has been stressed that in the seventies the party, instead of being the main guardian of the ideological values of the general social movement for the cause of socialism, concentrated its attention on political and economic practice, overlooking the main objectives to which that policy ought to be subordinated. After all, the author writes, Marxism contains principles which particularly concern fundamental methodological questions, whose undermining or omission threatens the coherence and the durability of the entire theoretical system.

Nevertheless, the condition for exploiting the knowledge contained in the basic assertions of Marxism concerning social processes, for the benefit of the community, is the constant reinterpretation of these assertions in the constantly new and constantly changing social conditions. We know what losses were brought by the renunciation of these actions, and one of the errors was the fact, as Leszek Grzybowski writes, that the milieus of Marxist intellectuals [words indistinct] to avoid a more ambitious presentation of topical and as a rule controversial problems. They occupied themselves with issues of secondary importance from the viewpoint of the needs of the contemporary world, or with deliberations remote from the sphere of social thought.

The author thinks that, in order to ensure the relevant role of Marxist social sciences in the life of the party, it is necessary to strive toward the creation of efficient mechanisms for ideology to influence political practice in such a way that practice should not become an autonomous sphere of the party's activity, one which is subject neither to effective ideological molding, nor to judgment from the point of ideological principles and the state of current knowledge about society.

Leszek Grzybowski devoted much space to the issue of unequivocality when specifying the main moral values binding in our society. I believe there is much significance in the final conclusion of the author of the article: "The Ideologists' Silence," printed in today's TRYBUNA LUDU. Leszek Grzybowski writes that the moral and political unity which we need so much can only be the result of democratic methods of wielding power, guaranteeing the possibility of contention between views, concepts, beliefs and interests.

It is in the party's deepest interest to bury once and for all a unity which is forced, not agreed upon, and the pseudo-unity beneath which social tensions accumulate.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 0835 GMT on 2 July reports on the TRYBUNA LUDU article on ideological issues of the PZPR, adding: "The need to restore the intra-party unity is of fundamental importance.

"It seems that the party's integration can only be achieved providing that the democratically elected party leadership of all levels will gain credibility vis-a-vis the party grassroots and when ideological, political and organizational principles of the PUWP as a Marxist-Leninist party will be clearly defined and consistently executed."

MOSCOW CPSU DELEGATION MEETS WITH WARSAW DELEGATES

LD030916 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Jul (PAP)--A delegation of the Moscow CPSU party organization, headed by its secretary Albert Roganov, visited this morning the Ursus tractor plant near Warsaw where it met with the local party and youth activists and factory delegates for the 9th PUWP Congress.

Later in the day, the Soviet guests met with PUWP district authorities and factory PUWP secretaries in Warsaw's Ochota residential quarter to discuss the pre-congress campaign, the source of and ways out from Poland's economic crisis.

In the evening, the Moscow party delegation held talks with the Secretariat of the Warsaw PUWP Committee.

RAKOWSKI REMARKS AT LENIN SHIPYARD MEETING REPORTED

LD041859 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] A meeting between the party activists of the Lenin Shipyard, representatives of larger party organizations of the tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] and delegates to the ninth congress and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski took place today in the Lenin Shipyard. The managing director of the shipyard, Klemens (Gniech) stressed in his speech that there is no turning back from the renewal. He said that the only key to solving the difficult economic situation of the country is an improvement in the market supplies, particularly in the second half of the year, otherwise the situation will not calm down. It is necessary to analyze the stance of the authorities, the authorities not only at the top but at all levels. It is essential to restore cooperation and technical discipline. Moreover, the central authorities must in the end take a look at the system of employment as many people in Poland are employed but do not work. The speaker also demanded the broadening of a free market economy. He pointed out that despite the crisis situation the Gdansk shipyard, named after Lenin, fulfilled 100 percent of the plan of the first half-year.

The remaining people reduced their few-minutes-long speeches to asking questions. In total, dozens of them were received and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski spent nearly 3 and half hours answering them. Here are some of the answers:

[Begin Rakowski recording] So far as my attitude to the post-August policy of the party is concerned, I was and am an ardent advocate of the line of accord, that is, the solving of conflicts by peaceful means, including all the necessities and needs arising from this line, such as, for instance, creating a partnership set-up and bases for the cooperation of various political forces which profess the principles of socialism and so on and so forth. This is the first comment. The second is: I did not attack Solidarity. I attacked a certain trend within Solidarity, a radical trend which is striving to transform Solidarity into a political party, or a trend which intends to use Solidarity for aims which are characteristic of an oppositional political party. I am going to go on acting in this way. I am and shall remain an advocate of implementing a partnership set-up on the condition that that other side wants to be a partner, too.

Unfortunately, so far, it has not worked. Comrades, how do you imagine the situation in our party after the congress? Will you continue to criticize at every meeting the leadership alone? What about you? What about your political friends? Some comrades were asking why the government does not have this or that program, why it does not struggle to protect law and order. How is it to struggle?

Do I think that the present government operates not successfully enough, too sluggishly, and what are the causes of it? I could have replied that [words indistinct]. There are fields of life where the government has been acting not very successfully, it is true, for example in market supply. However, successful operation in market supply demands one thing, goods, of which we have none. You can believe me, comrades, that if there is any chance to improve the situation we are making use of it. Because in Poland [words indistinct] there are no machinations. The idea that the government has been storing food in order to bring the nation to its knees is extremely stupid and fallacious. Please believe me that we have been reducing state reserves to a dangerous level, in order to improve the situation. This is the reality.

I can see no other road than the continuation of the policy which had been mapped out at the sixth plenum and I am sure it will be presented at the congress--a policy which represents the essence of the formula. [the line of accord]

I also know that your Gdansk organization, and those [others] present here, adhere to the line. This is good. But, I think that the implementation of the line will not become easier. On the whole, the implementation of the line of accord, the contents of which is a dialogue, partnership and various self-managing establishments is much more difficult to achieve than, shall we say, the idea of a centralized system, the system based on orders.

Hence, it is so very important for the party, today and tomorrow, to deepen its intellectual base. This is a great task for the party in the eighties. I hope that we will be able to fulfill the task as best as possible. Thank you. [applause] [end recording]

Anti-Socialist Forces

LD042008 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Jun 81

[Text] Here is a statement made by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at today's meeting with shipyard workers in Gdansk. Mieczyslaw Rakowski replied to a number of questions, and this is one of them.

[Begin Rakowski recording] How do you define and describe anti-socialist forces? The problem is not in defining what I said at the Central Committee plenum. I prefer to use another definition. Political opponents of the PZPR or the opponents of peoples rule. This notion is too general for me, but if somebody is asking who is making difficulties and who is against the PZPR then I can quote scores of examples. For example, if somebody rattles away at every opportunity that the government, your government, the government of the party, because you are members of the ruling party, is storing food on purpose, this is for me a political activity aimed against the PZPR and people's government. You have to fight against it. This is a concrete example.

This kind of example of spreading gossip and formulating views...[Rakowski apparantly changes his thoughts]. What about the opinion that for 36 years nothing was done and that the Polish people had been shamed and that only a pile of rubble was left? What kind of opinion is this? Is it a socialist one? Does it support anything? Here we are, this is a concrete enemy activity--simply an enemy activity by my opponent [as heard]. Hence, comrades, one must not ask where these socialist forces are. One should see a political opponent in everyone who wishes to weaken our position in the community. [end recording]

WROCLAW REPORT-BACK, ELECTION CONFERENCE RESUMES

LD041744 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] The debate at the Wroclaw Voivodship report-back and election conference, adjourned a week ago, resumed today. Three hundred and fifty-three delegates representing the more than 84,000-strong voivodship party organization are continuing the discussion. The most important inner-party issues and also socioeconomic problems are being discussed. In their statements the delegates are paying a great deal of attention to the need for the party to regain trust and credibility with the public.

Wroclaw Session Decisions

LD041804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] After a break lasting one week the party voivodship report-back and election conference held a session in Wroclaw today. Our female correspondent from Wroclaw reports that the conference instructed the voivodship Party Control Commission to draw up proposals regarding what is to be done with those persons who played a part in repressions against workers in three Wroclaw factories. This was in connection with the events of 25 June 1976. Eighteen workers were fired at that time and a ban on promotion was issued for the others. The conference made it incumbent on the voivodship [party] committee to appoint a special commission which will supervise the full rehabilitation of the workers who had been repressed and also the process of making good the damage done to them.

Another decision has also been passed so as to increase the possibilities of the broad masses of party members having a say in the creation of an action program for the voivodship party organization and to increase their potential to properly control the party authorities' work. This decision establishes that the delegates to the voivodship report-back and election conference will retain their mandates for their whole term in office. At the same time the voivodship committee is instructed to convene a conference after the ninth party congress in order to confirm the action program of the voivodship party organization and to convene the next conference after 1 year has elapsed in order to assess the implementation of this program.

Wroclaw Ends 4 July Session

LD042348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The second part of the Wroclaw Voivodship Party report-back and election conference has ended after an entire long day of debates.

Kazimierz Zaremba was elected member of the party voivodship committee. He is former secretary of the Wroclaw Voivodship Party Committee.

The conference also passed a resolution to send fraternal greeting to the regional committees of the Ukrainian Communist Party in Zaporozhe and the German Socialist Union Party in Dresden in which the conference assures them that Poland is and will remain an unshakable link in the socialist community of countries. Delegations of the parties from these regions were invited to visit Wroclaw and acquaint themselves with the current problems of party work in the Wroclaw PZPR organization.

JAGIELSKI ADDRESSES LUBLIN PARTY 27 JUNE MEETING

AU021300 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 81 p 4

[Ryszard Wolak report on speech by Mieczyslaw Jagielski, PZPR Politburo member and deputy premier, at the 27 June session of the accountability-election conference of the Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee]

[Text] Referring to the sixth plenum's line of concord in solving social conflicts, M. Jagielski said that we must be conscious of the fact that the implementation of socialist renewal, which is so difficult, is being threatened by acute attacks against the party and its leading role and against party aktivs, ruling state bodies and the forces of public order. It is also being threatened by open actions of the enemies of socialism, who ignore Poland's interests. What is at stake is not only our country's internal affiars, which are indissolubly linked to the status quo in Europe--to what determines peace in Europe and influences all aspects of the international situation. The seriousness of the present situation and the significance of the problem make it mandatory on the party and on every thinking citizen to counter irresponsible, shortsighted and hostile activities.

The processes occurring within the party have and will have a decisive influence on the efforts to create the conditions for continuing the line of the sixth plenum. That is why the Central Committee recognized the struggle for the party's ideological unity and organizational cohesion as an overriding issue. Although the precongress campaign has been marked by various trends--disadvantageous for the party--in the activities of some of the party's echelons, it is obvious that activities seeking to ensure the PZPR's Marxist-Leninist character and to strengthen its positions in society are in the preponderance. Without such a party it is impossible to promote the country's socialist renewal and to defend socialism. Every party member should realize that.

Discussing the country's difficult economic situation, M. Jagielski focused his attention on measures to ensure a solution to the crisis. We have not been able to halt the economic slump as yet, he said. Industry's production capacities are used to the tune of 85-90 percent, cooperation links have been deeply disturbed, and productivity is very low. All this is directly responsible for the present state of the domestic market and exports. The bad results of industrial production can only in part be explained by shortages of raw and other materials. What we must do now is to halt the slumps in productivity and work discipline, to maximally increase the production of materials and increase the production of goods in demand. Increasing coal porduction is an extremely important issue--a key issue for the country's economy.

The economic reform will not by itself solve our problems and accumulated difficulties. It must be consistently implemented, but to do that it is necessary for the people to understand its aims and to accept the tasks it poses.

One of the conditions for solving our socioeconomic crisis is further developing comprehensive cooperation with the socialist countries. It is not that we should just expect their assistance; we must also honestly honor our contracts with them. In that context M. Jagielski referred to the CPSU letter to the PZPR, saying that all party members should view that letter in terms of socialist internationalism and moral-political terms and against the background of our country's further socialist development.

GLOS PRACY NOTES ATTEMPTS TO WORSEN SITUATION

LD041720 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] There are still signs that extremist forces are striving to exacerbate the country's internal political situation, that their representatives are making imbalanced, if not downright provocative statements, on such issues as the role of the party and its political significance in the system of government, that they are sowing mistrust in the forces of internal order and instilling in the trade unions aspirations for distinctly political actions, writes GLOS PRACY.

One cannot but emphasize how worrisome are the constantly continuing provocative acts of desecration of monuments of gratitude and places associated with Polish-Soviet friendship and brotherhood-in-arms. It appears that the country has found itself in a situation in which the most dangerous and greatest hotbeds of tension have been extinguished. It is all the more important to bend every effort to avert fresh dangerous flare-ups, stresses the newspaper. We have found ourselves on a stage of socialist renewal at which we distinctly see that the process of broad and ubiquitous democratization is making headway in all spheres. It is finding graphic confirmation in the run-up to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. But we also see and are painfully aware of the fact that the surmounting of the profound crisis is causing concern by its slow progress and that so urgently needed large-scale public movement toward an exit from the crisis, which is exhausting the people and the state, is not yet in existence.

We should today regard the creation of the conditions for such a movement, which would also embrace the mighty workers' force represented by the trade unions, as one of our most important national and socialist tasks.

KATOWICE FORUM MEETING, RESOLUTIONS REPORTED

LD041300 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0851 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jul (ADN)--The Katowice Party Forum met at the voivodship party college in Katowice on Thursday. It was attended by nearly 300 members of the PZPR among whom were some from Warsaw, Poznan, Olsztyn, Kozalin, Wroclaw, Krakow and Bielsko-Biala. At the end of the meeting the following text was adopted which in accordance with the wish of the participants is to be arranged within the next few days in two resolutions on the subject: "Concerning the Implementation of the Decisions of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the PZPR" and "Concerning the Participation of Workers in Party Bodies." The adopted text runs as follows:

The Katowice Party Forum of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee declares itself strongly in favor of the consistent implementation of the decisions of the 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, in particular of those decisions which make it the duty of the party to fight tendencies toward splits and factionalism since they are directed against its Marxist-Leninist character, and its organizational cohesion, and fail to take note of the principle threat to the party--revisionism--since these tendencies undermine the principles of democratic centralism. We declare our support for the endeavors--the purpose of which is to recognize as delegates to the party congress only such comrades as have been elected in conformity with the statute and the principles of the provisional electoral procedure adopted at the 10th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. In particular, we support the statements speaking of the need to assess journalistic cadres and to take cadre-based decisions in this sphere. The forum members see their place in the struggle against the political opponents in the party and society who directly and indirectly are engaging in activities aimed at anarchy and the victory of the counterrevolution.

The members of the Katowice Party Forum of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee wish to express to their Soviet comrades their appreciation for the support extended to the Polish communists in the CPSU Central Committee letter to the PZPR Central Committee.

We acknowledge the resolute position of the fraternal communist parties and thank them for it. We see in this position the profound internationalist concern for the fate of the Polish people, the working class, the party and socialism in our country.

We are convinced that the correct words contained in the review of the Politburo and the decision of the 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee must be followed by actions.

The decision of the 11th plenary session must not share the fate of the previous decisions of plenary sessions when due to the lack of consistency their implementation led to a deepening of the political and economic crisis. Only by actions can the authority of our party within society be restored and its credibility among the fraternal parties be regained.

The condition for restoring the Marxist-Leninist character of the PZPR is the honest preparation of the ninth extraordinary congress. At the same time we note that the decisions of the ninth plenary session have not yet been implemented. At that session they had spoken about the need to hold talks for checking within the party. This has made it impossible for many party organizations to carry out their duties according to the statutes. The essence of these decisions was the purging, strengthening and restoration of the unity of our party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Despite the decision of the 11th plenary session no adequate change for the better has taken place on the part of the mass media. The precongress discussion is not proceeding on the basis of coherent ideopolitical foundations. There are still too many contributions which undermine the foundations of Marxism-Leninism methodologically and theoretically and which are not criticized from the position of scientific socialism.

This makes it possible to spread revisionist views, to undermine the leading role of the party and to erode the foundations of the social system in our country. These tendencies are supported by an unofficial, powerful antisocialist trend.

In the party press an inadmissible practice has gained ground--that of ignoring the dangers to the party resulting from the reduction in the proportion of workers in the party bodies, their standing aside till the party congress and their refusal to run as candidates. While in the past an attempt had been made, albeit in words only, to resist the tendency to eliminate the politically inexperienced and honest party activists and members of the apparatus from the elections, it is now even argued on the basis of bourgeois ideopolitical concepts of the generation gap, a changing of the guard, a new generation, that this is a necessary process.

While making this severe assessment of the content of the mass media we would at the same time like to express our gratitude to those party journalists who consistently defend the principles of the party and socialism. Nonetheless, we believe that the implementation of the decision of the 11th plenary session calls for the immediate checking of party journalists. This must not be delayed until after the congress. We would like to take this opportunity to thank the leadership of our party for having expressed its approval of our activities through the Central Party Control Commission.

At the same time we direct attention to the fact that the decision of the 11th plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee which refers to the preservation of the proper quality of congress delegates is not being implemented. Cases are known in which delegates have been elected who by their position and their actual work undermine the ideopolitical principles of a communist party as laid down in its statutes. Mandates and the results of conferences which were held in violation of the statutes and the electoral procedure have not been declared invalid although this has amounted to a fundamental departure from the principles of democratic centralism.

The decision of the eighth plenary session concerning the need for the struggle against counterrevolution is being implemented inconsistently. From the moment when the party recognized the seriousness of this danger, especially when this was confirmed by the 11th plenary session, the need for revolutionary action has been paramount. Contrary to the decision of the 11th plenary session leaflets, posters and brochures of an antisocialist and anti-Soviet content are being distributed.

We therefore protest strongly the anti-Soviet propaganda of the extreme wing of Solidarity which is being practiced without punishment.

We believe that it would be very harmful for the party if the congress were to be preoccupied with the settling of accounts. Rather, the party congress must concentrate its attention on the formulation of a Marxist-Leninist program. Drawing conclusions from the work of the party by the commission under the chairmanship of Comrade Grabski must be ended before the congress at the 12th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee so that purging the party may continue after the congress in a calm atmosphere. Nonetheless, accounts must be settled in accordance with the statute in the presence of those concerned and not on the principle of looking for sacrificial lambs.

The impression is gaining ground that the activities of the public prosecutor's office, the judiciary and the militia are still being deliberately hampered. The Central Party Control Commission must devote itself to a greater degree to its assigned functions, i.e. the settlement of accounts with deviations from the ideopolitical principles of our party.

Since the 11th plenary session and the letter of the Soviet communists to our party many comrades--"political chameleons"--have undergone yet another regeneration within the framework of the socialist regeneration. We welcome with satisfaction the attempt made by some comrades to draw closer to fundamental party positions. Taking a closer look we note, however, that their attitude toward their previously proclaimed concepts and political activities is not sufficiently critical and self-critical. We find it difficult therefore to believe that they have really revised their previous activities. One must, however, wish them and our party that they will be consistent to the end and that their deeds will be matched by their words.

Let us consider the causes which have led to the election of such comrades as delegates to the congress who were already relieved of their party functions within the framework of the socialist regeneration, or who are directly responsible for the state to which the party and society have now been reduced. This is happening amidst the applause and to the delight of one of those papers which is described by the bourgeois press of the big monopolies as the ideal of the socialist press and worthy of distribution.

We wish to state that we are unable to find in the statements by some representatives of the party leadership and the documents of the PZPR Central Committee thus far any critical or self-critical assessment of the activities of the party during the post-August period. Has everything really been good?

As a correct example of the struggle against rightwing opportunism and revisionism we consider the position taken by the PZPR Warsaw conference which declared itself against the election of Stefan Bratkowski as a delegate to the ninth extraordinary congress regardless of the forces who supported him.

The PZPR can only be a revolutionary party of the working class. It must be its political vanguard and unite in its ranks the forward-moving, most aware workers who are most ardently devoted to the cause of socialism. One of the conditions necessary for the preservation of the party's working class character is the corresponding influence of the workers on the formulation of the principles of the program, on inner party life, and thus a corresponding proportion of workers in the party bodies. To this end the party must possess a clear and convincing program.

Meanwhile, one of the features accompanying the process of socialist regeneration is that most party documents are returned especially by workers. A consequence of this process was the progressive elimination of workers from party bodies and as a result their lowest proportion in the history of the party in the number of delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Before August 1980 the working class had practically lost its influence on the overall processes of social and economic development. This is the reason why the previous leadership had been criticized and why it had been pointed out that this has been one of the major sources of the present crisis. However, as the experience of the past few months has shown it has been due to the influence of the rightwing opportunist forces that the party has been unable to restore its links with the working class. A consistent elimination of workers from party bodies and a weakening of the working class core in the party has taken place. This negates the essence of the workers' protests of July, August and September 1980.

The rightwing opportunist forces are trying to exploit the working class for their own overt and covert aims.

It is true that many workers refuse to run as candidates for the party bodies. However, it must be understood that contrary to official explanations this is a manifestation of the party's weakness, the consequences of the party's failure to safeguard everything that it should safeguard. Among many workers the feeling of wait and see until the congress, to see what it will bring them, is widespread. These are manifestations and results of the loss of ideopolitical control of the situation in the party and the course of the precongress campaign. For the future this conjures up images of the severance of the party from its natural base, the working class, and may lead to the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist character of the PZPR and to its disintegration.

It is to be hoped that after the congress the designation of the party as Polish United Workers' Party will not conflict with its social composition and its actual and implemented policy. It is to be hoped furthermore that the workers will not ask in the future: Who has represented us at the congress?

The socialist regeneration which is being implemented under the leadership of the PZPR must signify the consistent building of socialism and the restoration of the political hegemony of the working class in all spheres of social life. That is why we consider it necessary to put on the agenda the requirement of extending and safeguarding the actual influence of the working class on the practice of the building of socialism.

SZCZECIN COMMUNISTS SET UP 'DISCUSSION CLUB'

LD040846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] A party discussion club under the name of Szczecin Communists' Movement [Ruch Szczecinskich Kommunistow] has been set up in Szczecin. Its main object is to act in favor of party consolidation. It intends to work within the structure of the party established in the statute and in close touch with the party authorities. Members of the club have decided to prepare documents that will be given to Szczecin delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE CRITICIZES UNION'S PASSIVENESS

LD052159 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jul (PAP)--The national Solidarity programme conference was in session in Lodz over the weekend. It was organized by the district authorities of the Lodz region and the trade union organizations in the economic-sociological and law faculties of Lodz University. The aim of the conference was to define the nature of the Solidarity (?union) movement and its place and part in the transformations underway in Poland. Another aim was to map out basic directions of the union's activity. Social and economic issues connected with the economic reform dominated papers and [word indistinct].

The speakers stressed Solidarity's share in solving social and economic problems.

In this way, the union would contribute to the job of improving the working of the state and society. It would be an example of returning to the national tradition of organic, basic work, which is so necessary at this time.

Solidarity's passiveness and lack of programme for working out a concept of the economic reform was criticized. (?Owing) to the union's attitude, the government did not have a partner of an appropriate [word indistinct] to discuss the issue. The results of this can already be felt.

LESZNO SOLIDARITY DELEGATES HAVE HEATED DEBATE

LD060318 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] A general congress of Solidarity delegates from Leszno region has ended in Leszno. Eugeniusz Matyja has been elected chairman of the region board. He is also chairman of the voivodship board of Pax. According to PAP, the Leszno debates took place in an atmosphere of controversy, antagonism and quarrels among individual regions of the voivodship.

WALESA ATTENDS SOLIDARITY MEETING IN GDYNIA

LD031514 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 Jul 81

[No dateline received] In the music theater in Gdynia, a general meeting of delegates from NSZZ Solidarity is taking place, with Lech Walesa participating. The participants in the meeting confirmed a draft electoral law and determined a list of candidates to the regional authorities, as well as delegates to the national congress.

SOLIDARITY LETTER TO LABOR MINISTER REPORTED

LD042330 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jul (PAP)--Chairman of the working group of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission, E. Naszkowski, sent an open letter to Poland's minister of labour, wages and social affairs referring to the jointly initialled agreement aimed to prevent serious changes in [words indistinct] this year.

"Signing the agreement, we believed that to allow successive [words indistinct] in the individual branches will trigger off an avalanche of pay rises, which in effect of further upsetting [words indistinct] and inflation, would benefit no one and, instead, hit those whose material situation is the hardest", the letter said.

The letter stated further that the government side fails to stick to the initialled agreement--which though [words indistinct] lacking final confirmation both sides has been observed by the union--creating precedence which may give a beginning to spiraling pay demands and inflation. "The problem began with the accords concluded with the Branch Trade Unions which refused to consent to halt the implementation of pay agreements and use the [words indistinct] with the approval of the authorities, [words indistinct] instrument of struggle against solidarity and in an effort to win back their influence among employees," the letter pointed out.

The Polish press agency has received the text of the reply to this letter provided by Labour Minister Janusz Obodowski. It reads in part:

"The government and the Ministry of Labour, Wages and Social Affairs has many a time pointed to the great importance it attaches to the agreement initialled by the government team, under my chairmanship, with the working group of Solidarity's National Consultative Commission and concerning the freeze on any major pay changes in the course of a year. We have appreciated the signing of this agreement as an evidence of Solidarity's awareness of the disastrous state of economy and the union's constructive contribution to the realization of the indispensable actions on the part of the government. That is why I fully uphold the stand contained in the April agreement [words indistinct] the government has more than once showed its conviction that the halting of pay rises this year is necessary.

"It is not true that the authorities allow the Branch Trade Unions to use the [words indistinct] an instrument of struggle against Solidarity, as Mr Naszkowski maintains. Firstly, in every case of realization of pay demands put forth by firemen or power industry workers, the government was made to give its consent under pressure, the pressure of strike threat included, which Mr Naszkowski must be well aware of.

"Secondly, this pressure was used by Solidarity unionists, too, (?and not) merely in a general sense as the [word indistinct] rises have predominantly embraced members of Solidarity but also in a concrete [word indistinct] as the pressure was organized by branch unions of Solidarity with the approval of the National Consultative Commission".

"At present, with the consent of the NCC [National Consultative Commission] further pay demands are being put forth whose realization would require the increasing of the pay fund this year by billions of zlotys. Such demands are being submitted by printing, forestry and timber industry workers not to mention shipyard workers in whose actions Mr Naszkowski is personally involved.

"If Solidarity is truly concerned over the pay rises precedence (?it) should stop to create it by way of supporting ever new demands by individual branch sections."

Warsaw Radio Report

LD050210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Chairman of the working group of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] Solidarity, Eugeniusz Naszkowski has addressed an open letter to the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, recalling the joint accord which aimed at preventing large pay increases this year. On signing the accord, the letter reads, we believed that further pay increases in individual branches would trigger an avalanche of pay increases which, due to inflation and market disorganization, would benefit no one and those who are in the most difficult material situation would be hit hardest.

Next, the letter states that the government side does not adhere to the signed accord and that it sets precedents which may start a pay spiral that would be catastrophic for the national economy. It has begun with agreements with Industrial Branch Trade Unions which have refused to halt pay demands. At present, general pay increases are being prepared by the central state administration under the pretext of making use of reserves from the planned wages fund, and for this the government is solely responsible, particularly the minister.

Realization of these pay increases, says Eugeniusz Naszkowski may ruin the last chance for keeping the accord of 30 April, which so far has been treated seriously only by Solidarity.

In connection with the letter by the Solidarity representative, Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs Janusz Obodowski has stated that the government and the ministry have indicated often the great importance of the accord concerning freezing larger pay demands for 1 year. We have regarded the signing of the accord as proof of understanding by Solidarity of the catastrophic state of the economy and as a constructive contribution toward the indispensable actions by the government.

It is not true, said the minister, that the authorities will allow Industrial Branch Trade Unions to use the printing of money as an instrument of struggle against Solidarity. In every case of pay demands, the government must surrender to pressure, including the threat of strike. Pressure has also been used by Solidarity unionists. At present, with the KKP agreement, further pay demands are being made. It is also untrue that general pay increases are being prepared by units of the central administration. Heads of ministries and central offices have the right to manage the wage fund provided by their budget.

This year, units of the central administration received annual increases averaging 140 zloty per month per employee. All further increases are possible only by way of economizing; for example, through reduced employment. In concluding his reply, Minister Obodowski stated that if Solidarity is indeed concerned with the precedents of pay rises it should stop supporting new demands by individual branch sections.

TRANSPORT WORKERS SEEK MEETINGS WITH MINISTERS

LD060748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] At the session of the national autonomous committee of the NSZZ of municipal transport workers, decisions have been reached on organizational issues of the union as well as undertakings with the aim of improving working conditions in municipal transport enterprises. The participants in the session stressed, among other things, that if municipal transport is to fulfill its role properly, it must be an object of everyday concern for all national materials and technical and financial resources. In striving to solve problems preoccupying municipal transport enterprises in Poland, the decision was reached to bring about meetings as soon as possible with ministers from appropriate ministries.

BYDGOSZCZ INVESTIGATION TO BE PROLONGED

LD021630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1545 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] The voivodship public prosecutor's office in Bydgoszcz has told PAP about the state of the investigation into the events which took place during the session of the voivodship People's Council on 19 March of this year. The investigation has been essentially concluded, but on 24 June and 1 July the representatives of the wronged persons submitted further evidence. Their nature and scope in particular have been cause for further activities to be carried out, which will cause the time needed for investigation to be prolonged.

KPN MEMBERS' TRIAL RESUMES IN WARSAW COURT

'Temporary Arrest' Requested

LD022312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] The trial of members of the leadership of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], including Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremietiew, Tadeusz Stanski and Tadeusz Jandziszak, resumed yesterday [2 July] before the Warsaw Voivodship Court. Before the opening of the trial, the court announced that the Warsaw Voivodship prosecutor requested that the accused be placed under temporary arrest instead of being under militia supervision.

The request was motivated by the fact that the accused have not observed the order to report, have continued KPN activities and have taken part in meetings in various towns. The court decided to make a decision on the prosecutor's request after receiving all the necessary material.

During the court proceedings, Leszek Moczulski declared that he is not guilty. Moczulski accused the prosecutor of using nonauthentic documents during the preparatory procedure. He also presented details on the founding of the KPN and its paper, OPINIA, and also on the activities of the human and civic rights defense movement.

The trial will be continued today.

Dissidents' Trial Continues

NC031655 Paris AFP in English 1641 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jul (AFP)--Conditions "are broadening" for the overthrow of the Polish Communist Party, dissident Leszek Moczulski told a court here today.

The trial of Mr Moczulski, 50, and three other leaders of the dissident Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) resumed here yesterday after a two-week recess. The four, including historian Tadeusz Jandziszak, 38, and jurists Romauld Szeremietiew, 35, and Tadeusz Stanski, 32, have pleaded not guilty to charges of acting against the interests of Poland. If found guilty, they could face sentences ranging from five years in prison to the death penalty.

"Under current conditions, we (the KPN) are not in a position to overthrow the communist party. But such conditions are broadening," Mr Moczulski told the court. The KPN, founded in September 1979, has no other aim than to "struggle for the independence of Poland" without violating the Constitution, Mr Moczulski said in his testimony.

Calling KPN Poland's first independent political opposition party in 30 years, he assailed the media for presenting the party as "people with grenades in hand". Mr Moczulski said the group aimed to "stimulate the nation to combat lies, injustice and totalitarianism" in a bid to impose liberty, respect for human rights and human dignity.

The dissident launched his testimony today by denying the indictment charging the defendents with creating a "foreign-financed organization aimed at forcing the overthrow of the Polish constitutional system, weakening national defense and provoking a break in Poland's alliance with the USSR and socialist countries". He also charged that the 15 bulky prosecution files against the four contained "many falsified documents".

Trial Adjourned Until 7 July

LD032046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Today, during the latest day of the trial being held at the Warsaw Voivodship Court, leading member of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] Leszek Moczulski continued to give evidence. During the session the defense counsel proposed that the court establish whether the trial proceedings were being taped in adjacent rooms by persons who are not court employees. The neighboring premises were examined and no recording apparatus was found. At the request of Leszek Moczulski, the court announced a break until 7 July, which will be the third day of the accused giving evidence.

FESTIVE MEETING HELD TO MARK UPRISING ANNIVERSARY

Kraigher Opening Speech

AU031959 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Speech by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, opening a festive session of the organs of the sociopolitical organizations and the federal state organs held in the Great Trade Union Hall in Belgrade to mark the 40th anniversary of Yugoslavia's uprising and revolution--live]

[Text] Comrades: I declare open the festive session of the organs of the sociopolitical organizations and the federal state organs devoted to the 40th anniversary of the uprising and socialist revolution of Yugoslavia's peoples and nationalities.

Comrades, this festive session is being attended by members of the SFRY Presidency and the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, delegates of the SFRY Assembly, members of the Federal Executive Council, members of the LCY Central Committee, members of the LCY Commission for Statutory Matters, members of the LCY Central Commission, members of the SAWPY Federal Conference, members of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, members of the Federal Committee of the Federation of Veterans Associations of the national liberation war, members of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, members of the presidium of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women of Yugoslavia, members of the Council of the Federation, most prominent war commanders and commissars of the Yugoslav People's Army, a number of tested revolutionaries, people's heroes, members of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, former Yugoslav fighters of the Spanish Revolutionary Army, generals of the Yugoslav People's Army, members of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, members of the Federal Conference Presidium of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia, judges of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, representatives of the federal judiciary organs, representatives of the Council of the Academies of Sciences and Arts of Yugoslavia, representatives of the community of universities, representatives of the universities, representatives of the religious communities and a delegation of the city of Belgrade.

Comrades, precisely 40 years have elapsed since 4 July 1941 when the workers class, working people and peoples and nationalities of our country, at the appeal of the Yugoslav Communist Party led by Comrade Tito, resolutely embarked on the victorious national liberation uprising and socialist revolution. The past 4 decades of our revolutionary development have completely confirmed the historic importance of this glorious date, which marked a fateful turning point in the agelong struggle of our country's working masses against national oppression and social exploitation and for the freedom, independence and brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and nationalities, for a better and happier life of working mankind.

Today's celebration is not only an opportunity, but also an obligation to express our recognition and gratitude to the great pleiad of fighters of our liberation and revolutionary movement who either perished in war or passed away and to the victims of the fascist terror who devoted their lives to their last breath to the cause of our revolution. This recognition and gratitude is primarily due to the greatest among them, Josip Broz Tito, leader of our revolution, whose great achievement lives and will continue to live at every step of our struggle, today and tomorrow, for socialism and socialist self-management, for emancipation of labor, the workers class, the people and man.

I call on you to pay 1-minute silent tribute to all comrades who are no longer in our last combat ranks. Eternal glory and thanks to them!

Mojsov Report

LD040410 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Report by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the festive meeting of the organs of the sociopolitical organizations and state organs in the federation on the 40th anniversary of the uprising and socialist revolution of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia--live]

[Text] Forty years have passed since the historic meeting of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY] Central Committee Politburo, held here in Belgrade, at which crucial decisions were adopted to start the armed struggle against fascist occupiers and their domestic servants and collaborators, a struggle which quickly embraced the entire occupied and divided Yugoslav state territory and grew into the national liberation war and victorious socialist revolution which last 4 years. These decisions marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of all our nations and nationalities. Recalling today this important date of our revolution and all that we have achieved in the past 40 years, we bear in mind Tito's words which he uttered on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the CPY's founding, that every true revolution must return to its roots and experiences and that recalling the long and glorious path of the party is necessary in order to grasp still better and more comprehensively our immediate and future tasks, in order to strengthen even more the unity of our ranks in the magnificent struggle for freedom and independence of peoples, for socialist self-management in our country, for social progress and human happiness.

The decisions taken on 4 July were the logical result of the entire revolutionary commitment of the CPY at that time and also of its direct activity on the eve of the April aggression of the Axis powers against the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the occupation of the country. A decisive place in this respect was occupied by the stands adopted at the fifth national conference in October 1940.

The policy adopted at that time regarding the defense of the country, whose independence was already seriously in question, resulted from the clear knowledge of the party that the ruling circles of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie were neither ready nor capable to defend the country's independence. The CPY understood the historic truth that the defensive forces of the country could be developed and that the most essential factor of defense--the readiness of the widest people's strata and of all nations of Yugoslavia to defend the independence of the country--can only be ensured on condition of simultaneous revolutionary transformation and establishment of full freedom and equality.

All subsequent events--especially the determination of the ruling circles to include Yugoslavia in Hitler's new European order, expressed in the decision of the Cvetkovic-Macek government to adhere to the Tripartite Pact, the resistance of the people on 27 March to the shameful capitulation whose meaning and effect represented the first revolutionary breach of the outdated bourgeois system, as well as the April catastrophe--only strengthened the conviction of the CPY about the maturing of the revolutionary situation and the inevitability of the historic change of the old social order. In these conditions, such cardinal questions as the question of national existence and the struggle for true independence of the country became part of the sphere of all those general national problems which arose between the two wars and on the basis of which our party prepared its concept of struggle for revolutionary transformation.

These CPY stands determined the internal sociopolitical meaning and character of the liberation struggle to which the party committed itself still during the short April war.

This was the basic platform of uprising which the CPY elaborated and adopted already in the first days of occupation at its well-known May consultative meeting. Already at that time all progressive and patriotic forces of the revolutionary democratic movement led by the party were oriented toward political and military preparations for the liberation and revolutionary struggle. The essential qualities of these preparations were the party's efforts to create unity among the widest possible people's strata and all nations of Yugoslavia on the platform of national liberation struggle and establishment of the basis of the military organization of the national liberation movement.

The Yugoslav peoples endured the worst fate under the occupation. By Hitler's explicit order, Yugoslavia was split up as a state and its territory divided among four states which committed aggression--Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary. The aggressors proclaimed many of our areas liberated and returned under the wing of the conquering nationalist regimes in neighboring countries and then immediately employed the most crude methods--deportation and various forms of denationalization and destruction--to carry out forcible alteration of the national structure of the population. At the same time, exploiting the readiness for collaboration by various groups of domestic bourgeoisie, the occupation forces started to create quisling-type state structures and regimes in order to deepen even more the existing intranational disputes and to consolidate the occupation system. This system of terror and persecution which quickly assumed fantastic proportions was secured from the beginning by large military formations--18 Italian, German, Bulgarian and Hungarian divisions and quisling-type armed forces, coupled with gendarmerie, police, border and other special units. On the eve of the uprising the entire country was covered by a dense network of occupation and quisling-type garrisons.

However, neither the very unfavorable international conditions nor the brutal occupation system could shake our party from its determination to persist in the preparations and organization of the national liberation struggle. In spite of the worsened conditions and also certain organizational disruptions which occurred at the beginning of the occupation in the CPY ranks, it preserved its organizational and ideopolitical unity and continued to act as the only all-Yugoslav political party.

At the time when fascist Germany attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, engaging in this attack the mainstay of its armed forces, preparations for the armed struggle against the occupation forces and their domestic collaborators in our country were brought to an end. When the news of this attack broke out, the CPY Central Committee as well as the national and provincial party leaderships addressed the people with proclamations whose contents marked the beginning of direct preparations for the struggle. Already on 27 June the CPY Central Committee Politburo adopted the decision on the formation of the headquarters of the national liberation partisan detachments of Yugoslavia whose commanding function was entrusted to the party's secretary general, Josip Broz Tito.

The measures which the party carried out at that time in an accelerated manner for immediate preparations of the armed struggle against the occupiers and their domestic collaborators includes the historic decision adopted by the CPY Central Committee Politburo at its 4 July meeting to undertake armed and other combat actions immediately and without delay throughout Yugoslav territory. On this occasion Tito outlined the basic concept of undertaking and developing armed struggle. In the multitude of forms of armed and other combat activity against the occupier--ranging from sabotage and diversion in towns and industrial centers to the most varied forms of armed actions--Tito placed the emphasis on the development of a general people's uprising in the form of partisan war, on the creation of the largest possible number of partisan detachments which would develop armed struggle in all parts of Yugoslavia through offensive combat activities.

This is undoubtedly confirmed by the contents of the 12 July proclamation of the CPY Central Committee which calls on the peoples of Yugoslavia to rise all as one in the struggle against the occupier and his domestic servants and to transform their country into a besieged fortress for fascist conquerors.

This highly original concept of developing general people's uprising and its growth into an all-peoples liberation and revolutionary war to achieve far-reaching aims was more widely formulated by Tito in the first issue of the bulletin of the headquarters of the national liberation partisan detachments of Yugoslavia which was illegally printed here in Belgrade on 10 August 1941. We would be looking in vain for a more elaborate concept of developing an uprising in the analysis and studies of partisan wars which shaped ours as well as the history of many other peoples. The line between the already generally accepted small guerrilla war with limited aims and the partisan war which leads to the achievement of final aims--liberation and revolutionary transformation--was not emphasized anywhere else so clearly.

The development and successes of the armed struggle quickly confirmed the validity of this concept of Tito.

Already in 1941 Yugoslavia was engulfed by the fire of partisan war which in many places assumed the proportions of mass people's uprising. The partisan detachments whose combat nucleus was formed by the communists--members of the party and Federation of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia [SKOJ]--and other members of the prewar revolutionary-democratic movement had grown through fighting actions and political work among the people into large military formations.

With their attacks on occupation and quisling garrisons throughout the country they created large liberated territories where on the initiative of the party and under the influence of the revolutionary creative activity of the armed people the first organs of the new people's authority came into being and started operating. They were the national liberation committees and other forms of political organization based on the platform of the national liberation struggle.

This established already in the initial phases of the uprising the military and political bases of the national liberation movement. Through the creation of partisan detachments, from which a new liberation and revolutionary army would develop on the basis of the decisions taken at the consultative meeting in Stolice and the CPY Central Committee decision on the setting up of the first proletarian brigade, and through the appearance of the national liberation committees as organs of the authority of the armed people, our party found in the new and very complex conditions the paths to attain the basic tasks of the revolution--the building of a revolutionary army and a revolutionary authority. What was in this respect clearly indicated already in the autumn of 1941 by the practice of the uprising at the time of the Uzice republic and a year later, in November 1942, by the creation of the national liberation army of Yugoslavia and the founding assembly of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], became reality--the contours of an entirely new state organization appeared from the ashes of defeat and disintegration of the old Kingdom of Yugoslavia--a new Yugoslavia, an equal federal community of all nations and nationalities.

Because of all this, recalling today 4 July, 1941, we can say that this exceptionally important day in the history of our nations and nationalities represents a symbol in several respects. It is above all a symbol of the key achievement of the liberation war and socialist revolution--the creation of a truly independent Yugoslavia. Divided, attacked and enslaved through the centuries, the Yugoslav peoples, whose state structures to date were often the subject of manipulations by great powers, succeeded in the whirlwind of war and revolution in creating a new independent state which has become an active and recognized factor of the international community and world affairs. Instead of being an object of the policy of great powers, which traditionally distributed and exchanged their influence and dominant positions on this crossroads of their competition, it became an inviolable and autonomous subject in Balkan, European and world relations. The winning of real and complete independence, by our own forces and will, represented the source and precondition for such foreign political commitment of the new Yugoslavia and its likewise position in the world which was later fully expressed in the policy of nonalignment.

In fact, the 4 July decisions and the original concept concerning the undertaking and developing of the all-people's uprising with far-reaching sociopolitical aims, also contained the essential preconditions for the international affirmation of the national liberation movement, that is, the international recognition of the new Yugoslavia. However, since the politicians of the great allied powers, leaders of the anti-Hitler's coalition, already very early expressed the tendencies to retain to themselves by all means the right to influence decisively the fate of the occupied countries, including ours, the struggle for such affirmation and recognition of the new Yugoslavia was very difficult and complex. Yet the Yugoslav peoples persisted in this struggle. This was demonstrated by the decisions of the second session of AVNOJ.

An equal state community of our peoples was created on new bases. This happened at a time when the turning point in World War II was only just reached, when Yugoslavia was formally still within the borders of Hitler's new European order, outside the reach of the allied powers. This meant that the exclusive subjects of the internal sociopolitical outcome on Yugoslav soil were the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves, the working class, all working people and all patriotic forces gathered in the national

liberation movement. This is why the decisions of the second AVNOJ session represented a turning point as regards the creation of a truly independent new Yugoslavia. All later attempts by the allied forces to dictate their solutions and conditions could not in the case of Yugoslavia essentially change the direction of its further development and its international position.

The date of 4 July is also the symbol of revolution--the symbol of the beginning of a radical social transformation of this Yugoslav soil, of divesting the bourgeoisie of power and of liberating the proletarians, the working class and most of the peasantry from grave class fetters. In the inexonerable liberation assault, the capitalist class, which in the preceding two decades turned our areas into the abyss of the deepest exploitation, into a prison of progressive ideas and people, into a preserve of political manipulation with the original interests and needs of the Yugoslav people, was also thrown from the pedestal of power. The political power and the means of production were taken over by the working class with their own hands and work, thus also laying the foundations for the new socialist community. Yugoslavia was, in fact, along with the Soviet Union, the only country in the world in the summer and fall of 1941 which could be marked in red on Europe's political map--the symbol of revolution.

The date of 4 July is also the symbol of national emancipation of all our nations and nationalities because it marked the beginning of their joint struggle in which brotherhood and unity were forged and the point of departure of which was to establish full national equality in the new state creation. Instead of a unitarist state, a federal state was created. Instead of the dominance of one or more national bourgeoisies, the genuine equality of the very nations and nationalities which existed on this soil was established. Instead of the monarchist regime with ingredients of spurious parliamentarism, a republic, a state of people who had independently and autonomously decided on their fate, was established. Instead of a dictatorship based on police and gendarmerie torture, democracy with the broadest freedoms and rights of citizens was established.

This national emancipation could be achieved only because the CPY in the war and in the revolution offered a solution of the national question within a Yugoslav framework which was also the main incentive for strengthening the liberation movement and the factor of bringing all nations and nationalities closer together and uniting them.

The party did not recognize the wrecking of the Yugoslav state community by the occupiers but in its platform of the struggle of all peoples of Yugoslavia against the joint enemy it preserved the idea of unity and of creating a new fraternal community of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities on the basis of full equality. As regards the understanding of the nature of this unity there were no dilemmas in the CPY. For years to the eve of the war it dissociated itself clearly and to the same extent both from the exponents of hegemonist greater-Serbian integral Yugoslavdom and from the ideas of national bourgeoisies which saw the solution of the national question either in the division of power or in the creation of independent states under foreign patronage. As far back as the spread of the national liberation war the CPY made far-reaching political moves significant for the solving of complex intranational relations and of the national question as a whole. This was particularly manifested in creating national and provincial military and political leaderships of the uprising which, by implementing the party's general line in the specific conditions of their countries and provinces, identified themselves with the true aspiration of their peoples and nationalities and which quickly affirmed themselves as the centers of rallying all progressive national forces. This provided in practice the guarantee that the liberation struggle was bringing the implementation of the right of every people to decide alone on its fate, that the joint struggle against the occupiers and their servants and collaborators was the basis on which the knowledge about the joint interests of all people of Yugoslavia being linked by destiny was growing and developing. It was on these premises that Tito's idea about brotherhood and unity of our peoples, to be expressed most fully in one of the fundamental decisions of the second AVNOJ session on 29 November 1943 about the construction of new Yugoslavia in line with the federal principles, that is, on full equality of all its peoples and on the consistent respect for the national rights of members of all our nations and nationalities rested

The date of 4 July is also the symbol of the exceptional historical courage of this country, of its peoples, of its working class and its Communist Party. Therefore, in our memory with this day, names, feats and sacrifices of the fighters killed in the war and the revolution are embedded forever. We are proud that our country had such fearless and devoted fighters and that our party brought up such courageous sons, who went to their deaths consciously in order that the socialist future might come more quickly. In the war alone, the CPY lost three-quarters of its prewar membership and some 50,000 members admitted later, and SKOJ lost over 100,000 of its members.

Born in the fire of the revolutionary liberation struggle, the new state of Yugoslav nations and nationalities stepped forward boldly toward new horizons. The working class and the working people of our country, under CPY leadership, oriented themselves toward comprehensive socialist construction, choosing their own paths and forms of social transformation. On the foundations of such firm and unswerving orientation, Yugoslavia has achieved, in its entire postwar social and economic development, truly great results. In that period, Yugoslavia covered the road from an agriculturally underdeveloped and war-destroyed country to a medium-developed country. Thanks to the freedom acquired and the revolutionary measures of the new authorities, above all through the nationalization of means of production and agrarian reform, the enormous enthusiasm of the working masses in the renewal of the country and the creation of a material and cultural base for the comprehensive construction of a new society, and later with development of the system of self-management and the great efforts of the working class and all working people, a relatively high level of production forces of society has been reached. The social sector has become the main factor of the material and overall development of the country. This has been the basis for continuous promotion of material and social security of working people and citizens and for raising the standard of living. The material potentials, education, culture, science, health and all social activities in the republics and provinces and in the Yugoslav self-managing community as a whole have experienced powerful development. A strong, conscious and skilled working class has been created, the irreplaceable subject of socialist self-management, the material and general social base of brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities has been constantly promoted and the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection developed.

If one compares our entire postwar development with the development achieved at the same time in the world, it transpires that the level of per capita social product in Yugoslavia in 1939 was nearly one-third below the average of the whole world. Today it is over one-third above that average. In this way, by the pace of its growth, Yugoslavia has been increasing its per capita social product at twice the speed of the developed countries and has thus, in relation to them, noticeably reduced differences in level of development.

Between 1945 and 1980, the social product increased at an average annual rate of over 6 percent and Yugoslavia doubled its material production about every 11 years. Thus, Yugoslavia joined the countries with the speediest economic development in the world.

This information is all the most significant if we recall that in World War II Yugoslavia suffered, in addition to over 1.7 million lives lost, immense material damage, and that before the war it had been a poor and one of the economically most backward countries in Europe, with great class and national contradictions, with a high level of exploitation of the working class by Yugoslav and foreign capitalists and national oppression.

Our working class, all of our working people, all of our nations and nationalities can be proud of all these results. At the same time they represent a powerful basis for fresh steps in the comprehensive development of our country on the foundations of socialist self-management.

Material transformation and revolutionary changes in social relations have been the essential, mutually indivisible factors of our entire social development. This has made it possible for material development not becoming a goal in itself but being the lever of the fundamental transformation of the position and role of the working class in relations of production and all of social life.

When we today, 40 years after the armed uprising and the popular revolution started, look from this historical distance at the path which we have taken, starting with the historical session of the CPY Central Committee Politburo, through all the stages of our liberation and revolutionary struggle until today--when we face fresh challenges in the further comprehensive consolidation of our socialist community--we can rightly say before the whole world that Yugoslav communists, the working class and all working people, all our nations and nationalities have carried out historical breakthroughs and achieved gains of which they can be proud.

We liberated our country by relying above all on our own forces, and this in the struggle against the most powerful war machine, against violence and enslavement unprecedented until that time and we at last became masters of our own destiny.

In enslaved Europe, when the sinister forces of the fascist Axis were at the peak of their power, we demonstrated to the world that small people, too, led by a firm vanguard and motivated by the unquenchable aspiration for freedom and independence, can also develop armed struggle against the most powerful enemy and implement through constant development of that struggle, despite difficulties and victims, deep revolutionary changes.

We proved that by adopting the strategy of armed struggle against the occupiers, the power of the working class and all working people can be successfully fought for, brotherhood and unity of all our nations and nationalities achieved, and a new state community, on foundations of equality, formed through free will.

The Yugoslavia of AVNOJ, created during the liberation war, demolished in this always restless part of Europe, in which great powers had been competing for domination and influence, all the old and new plans for division and domination and became an important factor of peace, political stability and progress in the Balkans and the world.

We rehabilitated our country which had been devastated and destroyed by war and we firmly took to the road of all-round material and social development.

From the limbo of Europe, where poverty, exploitation and violence ruled supreme, we created a modern state, the socialist self-managing community. In developing comprehensive friendly relations with all peoples, we gained great prestige throughout the world.

We gave a decisive no, when paths of our own socialist development had to be chosen, to all who had wanted to continue keeping us in a state of subjugation and inequality.

We have worked with every ounce of our strength for establishment of new, more equitable international relations and, together with other progressive forces of mankind fighting for emancipation, we have built a new vision of the policy of nonalignment in a world which has, on the whole, been threatened with being gripped by bloc divisions, separations and conflicts.

We created, as far back as the war itself, a powerful Yugoslav People's Army, ready to defend the achievements of our popular revolution from all onslaughts, and we developed a system of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

We achieved a new--Tito's--concept of the party--avant-garde, by its revolutionary political program--and a mass organization, by its ear for the vital interests of the Yugoslav working class and all our nations and nationalities and by its deep roots in the broadest popular strata, which had been the source of its political strength. Tito presented his vision of such a party as far back as 1928 at the eighth congress of Zagreb communists and he began to put it into practice in 1937, when he took over the CPY leadership. Only such a party, an independent, strong, working class and people-orientated party, was able to bring about the authentic link between the national liberation struggle and the original socialist revolution. Only such a party had been able to bear all the subsequent historical trials, pressures and threats, while in the numerous and complex stages of socialist construction it was to find the appropriate answers to questions which our accelerated and contradictory development had imposed, remaining capable through all this of uninterrupted revolutionary creative work, from which today, too, nobody can divert it.

We have realized major historical achievements in a very short time, and this thanks to the firm links of the revolutionary-oriented masses and organized subjective forces with the CPY, or rather the LCY, as the new revolutionary avant-garde, with the national front, or rather the SAWP, as the broadest democratic organization of the working people, with the SKOJ, or rather the Socialist Youth Federation, as the revolutionary organization of the young, with the Antifascist Federation of Women, as the militant Organization of Women of Yugoslavia and other progressive and freedom-loving organization.

In the continuity of our revolution we have also developed many aspirations for the construction of socialist society, this basic achievement of our liberation struggle, and have deepened them with new contents and have encouraged the search for more perfect forms for organizing the power of the working class and for continuous promotion of intranational relations and the Yugoslav federal system on the equitable foundations of socialist togetherness.

On this path for deepening these historical achievements and conquering fresh spaces for creative activity, what is of epochal significance in the development of our revolution is the birth of the self-management process.

In submitting the proposed law on delivering state enterprises to workers to manage, Comrade Tito said on 27 June 1950: "...The slogan 'Factories to the Workers, the Land to the Peasants' is not some kind of abstract propagandist slogan but a slogan in which a deep, meaningful thought is inherent. It contains the entire program of socialist relations in production as regards social property, as regards rights and duties of workers and, therefore, it can and must be implemented in practice if we truly intend to build socialism."

These words of Tito marked a qualitative transition in our entire social development.

Of course, the opening up toward self-management would not have been possible had preconditions for this process not existed in the very character of our revolution, in the fact that the revolutionary masses had already in the course of the national liberation struggle started to set up authentic democratic organs of power.

The birth of self-management was the path to overcoming the dangers of bureaucratization on the basis of the monopolist position and role of the state in all of social life and at the same time the method to raise the broadest revolutionary creative work of the working class and all working people to a higher historical level and to make possible deeper progressive changes in all social development. The visionary and revolutionary role of the CPY, its deep links with the working class and with all working people, its ability to feel and express their most important interests, played a very important role.

What should be mentioned first and foremost when summing up the results of the development of our society on the basis of self-management is that which is historically most important: Our revolution practically demonstrated the real possibility of a new content for socialism, new social positions and the role of man, the producer. It demonstrated that the statist model of socialism is not the fate of the socialist revolution in a materially developed society such as ours, that self-management is not a short-lived illusion and experiment but the daily practice of millions of people, a system of social relations and the strategy of all social development. It has been demonstrated that self-management lasts and that it is developing, though in this process of development there have been, and are today, too, major weaknesses and difficulties. Of course, self-management was not invented in our country, nor is it an exclusively Yugoslav phenomenon but rather the growing tendency of the present-day world, the roots of which are to be found in the ideas of many great thinkers and humanists of the past.

Our society tries to found its entire development on the practice of self-management. It is a historical merit of Yugoslav communists for having set in train this process and for having been the constant vanguard in the struggle for its implementation. Without this revolutionary activity, self-management could not develop. Whenever there has been a weakening in revolutionary activity, and thus also, in the final analysis, a weakening of the class position and orientation in League of Communists practice, a weakening of self-management has been the result; and vice versa, every stagnation in the implementation of the class substance of self-management has led to bureaucratic, bourgeois-liberalist and similar tendencies in the League of Communists. Therefore, the activity of communists as the internal leading ideopolitical force of the working class and of all working people--not from a position of power and through the mediation of the state--would not be possible without the practice of self-management. Such a concept laid down by the program, the social position and role of the LCY, though realized with many contradictions, is among the important results of the revolutionary theory and practice with far-reaching political and broader social significance.

The present-day long-term strategy of the development of self-management and of our entire social development proceeds from the concept of free and associated labor. However, the development of self-management in this direction still meets with obstacles precisely because of the relatively strong tendency of alienating income in the process of social reproduction. The essence of these relations is that the major part of the surplus value is separated from the producers, that they are still not exerting sufficient influence on its distribution, that the economic-political power is concentrated in the political-economic superstructure. The present influence exerted by the producers on the trends of social reproduction and on the adoption of important political decisions does not make it possible for them to implement to a necessary extent the ruling economic and political position and role. The constitution, the law on associated labor and other systemic laws do not, on their own, ensure these changes, nor do they come about without conscious struggle by associated producers for their emancipation, nor without activity of the League of Communists as the conscious and leading force of this struggle.

The struggle for the stabilization of our economy, which is our long-term crucial task, will not be successful if this struggle is not at the same time the struggle for a fundamental change in existing relations in production, which will enable the associated workers to control the means and results of their work, to link up comprehensively and on the basis of income in the entire process of social reproduction. The stabilization of the economy cannot be achieved only through certain measures of the state. It is deeply linked with the implementation of self-management. It demands therefore, total and continued and class-founded involvement of the League of Communists and of all other organized political forces.

Overcoming the present stagnation in the development of self-management is inseparable from a development of the social system in which the interests of associated producers determine the content of all political decisions.

The delegate system, which stems from the very essence of self-management, is implemented under conditions of the existence and manifestation of the pluralism of self-managing interests. However, this pluralism does not mean that all the existing interests should be equated by their nature and importance. It assumes, above all, the dominance of the interests of the working class and production and political relations of a type which will enable producers, and not somebody else on their behalf, to find that which is in their direct, common and general interests. In this process, the League of Communists must not operate as an arbiter and judge of what are and what are not the common and general interests of the working class and of society but as a factor of the conscious struggle to create the necessary conditions making the formulation and consolidation of these interests possible.

We must not forget for a single moment that self-management can progress only if it is deeply rooted in the interests and emancipational aspirations of the working class. This class content of self-management must continue to be the basic guideline of the entire activity of the League of Communists. Therefore, in examining the most important current problems of our social practice, we must, above all, proceed from this class point of view and ask the question: to what extent does the working class as a whole implement its basic direct and historical interests in the present conditions? It is from this point of view that we must approach the resolution of the serious problems of economic development, of the material and general social position of producers, also of the system of acquiring and distributing income. This is also the point of departure in the examination of the complex problems of intranational relations. All counterrevolutionary and antiself-managing tendencies in our society--and they were particularly manifested in the most brutal form in Kosovo in the past few months--can only be successfully combatted by consolidating self-management as the genuine revolution, at the center of which will be the interests of the working class, its decisive political position and role, its linking up in the whole of our society on the basis of associated labor.

A particular virtue of us, Yugoslav communists, is that we do not retreat in the face of any difficulties in the development of our revolution. The problems which we face today are not minor, but we have had even more difficult problems in the past and yet, nevertheless, we overcame them successfully. Today, we have many more forces at our disposal to resolve successfully the problem facing us. One of the conditions for this is not to lose the revolutionary orientation and perspective, and Comrade Kardelj has stressed this on several occasions. A revolutionary confirms himself to be a revolutionary not when everything goes relatively smoothly in social development but, above all, when difficulties in this development arise. It is then that one demonstrates who is truly a communist at work and for what kind of social relations and moral values he works for in practice. The revolutionary image of communists must be constantly developed. The entire history of our party and of our revolution shows this clearly.

What is of the greatest significance is to direct our political activity toward the democratization of relations in the League of Communists, toward the activation of the very large cadre, political and ideological potentials in it. We must also fight against the tendencies toward isolationism and one-sided interests which are also penetrating the League of Communists. The political and ideological unity of the entire League of Communists, realized on the basis of the unity of interests and goals of the working class and the working people, represents an essential precondition of its revolutionary activity. The struggle for this unity and the class character of the LCY is inseparable from the development of democratic centralism as the irreplaceable principle of the LCY's revolutionary organization and activity.

Josif Broz Tito used to stress that revolution is not ordinary and peaceful but that it demands high consciousness and activity and links between communists and the working class and working people in general. We have been able to successfully overcome the difficulties we have faced in our development so far, primarily because our party, as an entity and as a movement, has had the properties of which Tito had spoken and because it has been able to come forward with a platform to resolve the most important social problems in every specific stage of social development. This is a great revolutionary achievement which we have at our disposal. But, such a role of the League of Communists is not ensured automatically. It must be confirmed afresh constantly in new social conditions.

The present time imposes the need for the League of Communists to energetically undertake action--on the basis of a deeper knowledge of the causes of unfavorable tendencies in social development, and this also implies a critical examination of its own practices, and by relying on the major achievements in its development so far--against all aspects and attempts at wrecking our community, against all forms of particularism and isolationism, as well as against possible aspirations to resolve topical problems in a bureaucratic-centralist way.

For Yugoslav communists, national independence and the equality of nations and nationalities has always been one of the strategic issues of the socialist revolution. Such an orientation stems from conviction, based on Marxism, that socialism as a society of freedom can be built only by free people and nations. Just as in the armed revolution the achievement of full national freedom and equality was the component part of the struggle for a change of the old social order, so today too, but under changed historical circumstances, national equality represents one of the fundamental elements of building social relations on the foundations of socialist self-management. It is in this respect that the basic trend of revolutionary continuity of the decisions of the second Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia session right up to today exists.

What is of historical significance in the continuous enrichment of the contents of national equality and socialist togetherness is the 1974 Constitution, the LCY Congress decisions Nos 10 and 11 and the establishment of new relations in the federation.

By proceeding from the fact that it is essential for the national freedom of people that the working class, in addition to political and cultural independence, controls the surplus social labor and manages the entire social reproduction, the constitution also places this control on self-managing foundations. By the abolition of the centralist system, the republics and provinces have been placed in the position of resolving by themselves through social negotiations and self-managing agreement-seeking, the problems of joint interest. These changes manifest the revolutionary consistency of the League of Communists and of all socialist forces about the independence of nations and nationalities and their mutual relations developing on class self-managing foundations.

By proceeding from the attitude that the basis of political equality of nations and nationalities is their economic equality, we pay particular attention to the speedier development of insufficiently developed republics and in particular of the Province of Kosovo.

As regards the strategic direction of the development and the self-managing basis of the system of intranational relations, we have nothing to change. Self-management has withstood the test of life as an irreplaceable basis of the affirmation of the national individuality and of democratic equitable intranational relations. But one can speak of difficulties and of resistance and in particular of our own subjective weaknesses in the sphere of the consistent implementation of the self-managing concept of intra-national relations. The experience has convinced us on several occasions that whenever self-management stagnates, various aspects of nationalism are on the offensive.

The process of the decentralization of the federation which had been historically and socially necessary has not been accompanied by the same intensity of self-managing associating within the framework of our entire federal community. Parallel with the consolidation of certain etatist tendencies in the republics and provinces, the space for the operation of economic laws too has been narrowing down.

When we speak of national economies and the unified Yugoslav market, we should differentiate between economic independence and national autarchy. Economic independence presupposes mutual dependence, arriving at joint interests--it goes without saying--on the basis of equality. National autarchy excludes all this and it orientates itself toward togetherness only to the extent to which it could launch some kind of its own one-sided and narrow national interest. There is only a small step from autarchy to nationalism and separatism.

The tendencies of autarchy and of isolationism push self-management and the League of Communists to the sidelines of social events, and they weaken the responsibilities for socialist togetherness and thus also the integration processes on the basis of self-managing pooling of labor and resources.

The recently activated nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo, despite some specific causes, is a manifestation of the above-mentioned tendencies in Yugoslav dimensions in general. It goes without saying that this has also made easier the work of foreign enemies of self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia, who look in our weaknesses and inconsistencies for the opportunities for their actions.

The events in Kosovo as well as the experiences with nationalism in the 1970's confirm our conviction that no political compromises of any kind should be made with nationalism, nor is there room for opportunism with regard to nationalistic phenomena and their exponents. It has been known for a long time that nationalism is not directed merely against other peoples and togetherness, but that it also inflicts the greatest damage pricely on the people upon whose behalf it acts.

Self-management alone represents that power and that certain dam which separates genuine national affirmation from nationalism, democratic and social togetherness of equal nations and nationalities from greater state centralism and unitarism.

It is our firm conviction that independence and equality of nations and nationalities can be achieved only by strengthening socialist togetherness, by an ever speedier opening up of republics and provinces for various forms and contents of mutual linking-up and pooling of labor and resources.

When we speak of the need to strengthen socialist togetherness we must be clear about the fact that our historical dilemma is neither a centralized statism or several decentralized statisms. The historical crossroad is between socialist self-management and statism of any kind or at any level. Just as our self-managing development makes statism of the federal state in the role of the guardian of general interests superfluous, so it also makes historically superfluous the statism of republics and provinces in the role of the guardians of national interests. Thus, the extent to which associated labor will be the real and direct exponent both of the class and of the national interest will be the extent to which we shall succeed in overcoming tendencies which pull us backward, be it toward centralist unitarism or toward national autarchy and the weakening of togetherness.

The strengthening of the socialist community in our conditions can only come from socialist self-management. For both the equality of nations and nationalities and their community have a common social class basis in socialist self-management. Accordingly, the development of the self-managing basis of our society is at the same time the act of creating a new type of multinational community. We could say that this is at this historic moment, the critical issue of the continuity of our revolution.

All our nations and nationalities without exception have experienced their greatest social and economic development and all-round affirmation of national individuality precisely in living together in socialist self-managing Yugoslavia. Our overall development has constantly demonstrated that nationalities can all survive and attain their optimum development only by living together in a unified self-managing system in which they may have control over the fruits of their labor.

It is not necessary to lay special emphasis on how great a historical responsibility for such a direction of development lies with the League of Communists and all socialist forces of our society. All the more so because the meaning of the struggle to breathe life into the self-managing democratic bonds of our socialist community lies not only in maintaining but also in further developing the brotherhood, unity and community of our nations and nationalities, as one of the greatest achievements of our revolution.

Yugoslavia's independent and nonaligned policy, which has earned great esteem for our country and has merited recognition for it in the modern world, was born in the national liberation war and the socialist revolution of 1941-45, when the working class, our nations and nationalities, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Comrade Tito showed themselves by their struggle to be an independent and autonomous political force within the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Through its political and military successes and its social transformations, our revolution has shown in practice the determination and ability of our nation and nationalities to become the makers of their own history and active participants in making modern world history.

We may justly say that the foreign policy of the new Yugoslavia bore from the very beginning all the essential characteristics of our revolution: independence, autonomy, authenticity, community of interests of all nations and nationalities, orientation toward the working class and links with progressive trends in the world.

The strength, vitality and principled nature of that policy, its ability to resist various forms of pressures and assaults upon the independence and autonomy of our revolutionary movement and country, which have not been infrequent in the postwar period, derive from our party's basic strategic orientation to link the struggle for national and social liberation within the country firmly with the struggle of nations, countries and movements for freedom and independence, for equal and democratic international relations, for social progress in the world. The party has accordingly derived its strength not only in its own revolution, but also in the objective world historical tendency of its times. In other words, the principles and goals which we advocate in the modern world correspond not only to the internal needs and interests of our country and of the Nonaligned Movement, but also to the interests of the broadest forces of peace, democracy and socialism, in short, the progressive interests of the international community.

The affirmation of the democratic principles of independence, autonomy and of equal cooperation in relations between workers' parties, liberation movements and socialist countries, undoubtedly represent that positive process through which socialism is confirmed as the historic alternative to the world of capital and imperialism.

For the LCY and for all progressive forces, the democratic principles of independence and autonomy, noninterference in internal affairs, and responsibility toward their own working class and people constitute an irreplaceable basis for the development of new nations and for internationalist solidarity between the socialist forces. The extent to which this platform has been accepted is an expression of the increased revolutionary democratic awareness of movements and peoples that socialism can be built up only in conditions of national freedoms and equality without guardianship and hegemonism.

However, it is being shown that this process, although historically unstoppable, is today very complex and contradictory, shot through with forceful resistance, stagnation and retrograde tendencies.

The rapid deterioration of the general international situation in the recent period is an expression of the profound crisis of the modern world in all areas of international life. Competition between blocs, application of force and various forms of interference, intervention and other forms of pressures on independent countries have been heightened. The arms race is acquiring forms which threaten the existence of mankind, while the policy of detente is completely stagnating. For years, the unresolved economic problems of the modern world, the underdeveloped countries and the developing countries have aroused our serious concern. The economic difficulties of these countries are being exploited as a favorable ground for maintaining various forms of neocolonialism and hegemonism, for crushing the process of attaining national independence and equality. The forces of neocolonialism and domination are attempting, through economic dependence, to exert influence upon the sociopolitical development and foreign policy of developing countries. Also in evidence in this context are bloc attempts to introduce into the Nonaligned Movement criteria of ideological differentiation, with the aim of subordinating it to the foreign policy interests of one or other bloc. These attempts are intended to paralyze the movement's independent nonbloc position and to weaken the unity and solidarity of the nonaligned countries.

The historic untenability of the existing bloc structure of the world is shown in its inability to resolve the accumulated contradictions of mankind, to find at the present time or in the near future more lasting solutions for world cooperation such as would guarantee peace and open the process for the establishment of new economic and political relations founded on equality.

In this sense, the responsibility of the nonaligned countries becomes even greater today. The policy and movement of nonalignment find their confirmation precisely in the present situation, as the broadest type of progressive trend in the world, and as an independent factor of the struggle for peace in the world and for more just international relations.

Throwing off the domination and monopolism in international relations, our country and the League of Communist have by their dynamic international activity made a major contribution to affirming the Nonaligned Movement and continue to do so.

In this sense, a vital prerequisite for the maintenance of Yugoslavia's stable international position is indeed the maintenance and further development of the revolutionary continuity of our socialist path and community, the further strengthening of self-management, the overcoming of the present economic difficulties and the implementation of a stabilization policy. In strengthening the unity, socialist community and equality of all nations and nationalities, Yugoslavia will--even in the conditions of the deteriorated international situation--maintain and expand the international esteem and position it has acquired.

When we turn to that revolutionary experience of ours, great and rich with achievements and significance, we must once more stress that Tito's work stood and continues to stand at the foundation of our revolution, of all its crucial moments and achievements. It can justifiably be said that Tito is among the ranks of those historic personalities who have marked an epoch. His work is the expression of the progressive aspirations of the working class and the working people of all nations and nationalities on our Yugoslav territory. In creating the modern, independent, revolutionary workers' party, the strategy of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, the orientation toward self-management and the consistent struggle for the liberation of the working class and the working man altogether, the pioneering role in the conception and realization of the policy of nonalignment, the constant and determined advocation of equal relations in the workers' movement in the world, Tito's historic role naturally grew up and found its confirmation, while at the same time, the influence and model of our party and of Yugoslavia grew throughout the world. Tito knew how to introduce into the revolutionary process that element of historic creativity, boldness and vision which helped find ways out of even the most difficult circumstance, enabled the revolution to renew itself and gain strength constantly. The continuity of our revolution is, therefore, inseparable from those great goals to which Tito devoted his entire life. The strategy of the revolution which bears Tito's dominant imprint is inseparable from his great historic work.

The decisions of 4 July are an inspiration and historic lesson also today, for all of us, for our working class, for all our nations and nationalities.

They inspire us by their heroic resistance to any force and domination, by their determined orientation toward the revolutionary change of social relations, by their strong aspiration to create a new, humane and democratic society, by their unceasing revolutionary durability and their basic achievements of brotherhood and unity, equality, by the socialist foundations of and the independent, autonomous, nonaligned position of our country.

The lessons are historic ones, in their aspiration and achievement that the revolutionary political action should be built according to the conditions and needs of society itself; in their recognition that only the working class, the nations and nationalities of our country are the deciding factor of their own historic development. That we are ourselves the real masters of our destiny; in their firm conviction that the organizational and political and ideological unity of the party is of essential importance for the success and maintenance of the revolution; and in their indissoluble linking of the party with the working class and people.

Basing ourselves on those historic experiences and on this knowledge, on the major achievements and socialist creativity of 40 years, on our broad possibilities and clear political orientation, we are today once more confronted by the task of exploiting new horizons of socialist progress and of seeking solutions for the problems facing us in the complex international and internal political and economic trends. The League of Communists will be up to that historic task of today only if, at every moment, it is at the focus of the life, work and activity of the working class and of all our working people and citizens, if it operates as an internal, mobilizing force of the system, as an equal but also the most responsible ideopolitical factor of society and of the struggle for a socialist self-managing community something that in particular gains expression in the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress. We are convinced that our working class, the League of Communists and other socialist forces will find, as they have always done in their history up till now, such answers and solutions as will facilitate the further free and all-round development of our socialist self-managing and nonaligned country.

MORE ON VISIT OF SOVIET NAVY COMMANDER, DELEGATION

Ljubicic Receives Commander

LD031236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG)--Army General Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, today received Adm Sergey Georgiyevich Gorshkov, commander of the Soviet Navy, who is on an official and friendly visit to our country with a delegation of the Soviet Navy.

The meeting and talks held on this occasion in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense between General Ljubicic and Admiral Gorshkov were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The meeting was also attended by Nikolay Rodionov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union to our country, and Col Arkadiy Zhuk, military, air and naval attache.

Navy Commander Leaves

LD041228 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jul (TANJUG)--Adm Sergey Georgiyevich Gorshkov, commander of the Soviet Navy, left Belgrade today after an official and friendly visit to our country. Members of the Soviet naval delegation headed by Admiral Gorshkov left with him.

Vice Adm Miodrag Radosavljevic bade farewell to the guests from the Soviet Union at Batajnica Airport. Rear-Adm Bozidar Grubisic and a group of officers of the Yugoslav People's Army were also in the send-off party. Nikolay Rodionov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Yugoslavia, and Col Arkadiy Zhuk, military attache, also saw Admiral Gorshkov off.

During their stay in our country, Admiral Gorshkov and the members of the delegation went to several places and visited a number of commands, units and installations of the Yugoslav Navy.

PZPR INVITES LCY TO SEND DELEGATION TO CONGRESS

LD022312 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1617 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)--Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Dr Aleksandr Grlickov today received Polish Ambassador to Yugoslavia Wiktor Kinecky. On behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Central Committee, Ambassador Kinecky presented to Grlickov an invitation for the LCY to send a delegation to attend the PUWP 9th Congress.